THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON,

TILL ITS

FINAL SUBJECTION TO THE ROMAN POWER;

IN EIGHT BOOKS.

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ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

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PREFACE.

THE annals of Greece include, perhaps, the moſt intereſting and inſtructive portion of the Hiſtory of Man. They exhibit the gradual progreſs of a people, from the rudeneſs of ſavage life to the perfection of refinement and civility. They mark the ſteps by which this illuſtrious part of mankind advanced to the firſt rank among the families of the earth; although they were inconſiderable in numbers, in riches, and in the extent or fertility of territory. Surmounting the diſadvantages of their ſituation, they diſputed the prize of empire with the great powers of Aſia; and bore away the palm of arts as well as arms from the nations of the Eaſt, who for ages had poſſeſſed it unrivalled and uncontrolled. But while we admire the Greeks as diſtinguiſhed by ſignal achievements, and dignified by every noble exertion of the human mind, we remark with pain, even in the zenith of their glory, the approaching decline of public virtue, and are led to contemplate the bold incroachments of venality and diſcord, which

reduced by degrees this extraordinary people to the moſt abject ſtate of ſervitude and inſignificance.

Struck with theſe revolutions of fortune, we cannot fail to derive from them an ample ſource of inſtruction. They point out and illuſtrate the ſure means of advancing the proſperity and happineſs of nations. The age of glory to Greece was the age of virtuous manners. Corrupted by ſucceſs, her proſperity departed from her. The diverſities of her ſtory, amidſt the paſſions they excite, beſpeak forcibly the ſuperintendency of a Divine Providence, and inculcate the important truth, that happineſs is the reward of virtue, and miſery the conſequence of vice.

When ſurveyed in a proper light, the hiſtory of ancient times is the ſchool of wiſdom. To form a juſt eſtimate of the manners and inſtitutions of nations now ſubſiſting, is a taſk which is always difficult, and often invidious. In judging of events too near the preſent day, we are apt to be miſled by our prejudices. The ſprings of action are, in general, hid from our obſervation; and we are under the neceſſity of reaſoning from views that are confined and partial. The tranſient operation of ſome incidental circumſtance is often miſtaken for a firſt cauſe; and we praiſe or condemn meaſures of which we know not the principle, and

cannot aſcertain the tendency. The caſe, however, of nations who have run their career is very different. We have before us the whole line of their hiſtory. We behold the riſe, the progreſs, and the termination of their fortunes. We diſcover the advantages and the defects of their polity, and can unfold the miſtakes of their rulers. We obſerve the coincidence of conduct and ſucceſs which exalted them to power; and can trace the degeneracy and misfortunes which haſtened their decline. Unbiaſſed by connexion, and undiſtracted by oppoſition of intereſts, truth alone becomes the object of our curioſity and ſearch. Unawed by ſtation, we call to account the proudeſt prince; and unſuſpected of flattery, we beſtow upon every gallant deed the full portion of glory which it merits.

But while theſe advantages apply to the tranſactions of the Greeks, there is another favorable circumſtance which attended them. Greece abounded in excellent writers; in generals, philoſophers, and ſtateſmen; and by theſe the memorials of her hiſtory have been tranſmitted to poſterity. Of ſuch men the compoſitions cannot be ſufficiently eſteemed. They enjoyed a ſhare in the councils of their country; they acted a part in the ſcenes they deſcribe; they were fully informed concerning

the laws and the conſtitutions of the ſtates whoſe fates they record; they had the honeſty and the boldneſs to detect and expoſe the errors from which any public misfortune had ariſen; and often, at the peril of their lives, they reſiſted and repreſſed the paſſionate exceſſes of a capricious and miſguided multitude.

There are five periods into which the Hiſtory of Greece may be divided.

I. The firſt period, during which Greece may be conſidered as emerging into life, extends from the earlieſt accounts of the foundation of its ſtates to the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidae; and includes a ſpace of about ſix hundred years. In this period, independently of the Argonautic expedition, and of many heroic achievements which are involved in the darkneſs of fable, there are comprehended the inſtitution of the Amphictyonic council, the Trojan war, the legiſlations of Minos, of Lycurgus, of Solon, and what chiefly contributed to form the Grecian character, the eſtabliſhment of the liberties of Athens.

II. The ſecond period is properly the age of glory of the Grecian people; and takes in about ſixty years. It commences with the ejection of the Piſiſtratidae, and cloſes with the death of Cimon. It is adorned with the noble exertions of the Greeks

againſt the Perſian power, at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plateae, and Eurymedon.

III. The third period compriſes about one hundred and fourteen years, from the death of Cimon to that of Philip of Macedon. Here the proſpect is obſcured. The power and opulence which Greece had purchaſed by her victories, introduced oſtentation, luxury, and inſolence. Her ſtates, relieved from the terror of a foreign enemy, divided againſt each other; and, inſtead of being animated with a generous zeal for the public happineſs, were pervaded and diſgraced by diſſolute pleaſures, an oppreſſive ſpirit, and the luſt of dominion. It was now that Greece began to decline. But her wealth, her magnificence, the arts in which ſhe excelled, the perfection of her drama, her ſkill and advancement in philoſophy, in eloquence, and in literature, the poliſh of her manners, and the elegance of her taſte, continued to give her the appearance of importance and of vigor. Her real ſtrength, however, was decayed; and the diſaſters that enſued, firſt in the courſe of the Peloponneſian war; afterwards at Leuctra and Mantinea; and at length at Chaeronea; were the natural calamities which a people might expect, who had given way to ruinous diſſipations, who were broken into factions, and who were falſe to themſelves.

IV. The fourth period extends from the acceſſion of Alexander the Great, the founder of the empire of the Greeks, as it is ſometimes called, to the firſt interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece. In this eventful period a total revolution of intereſts was produced. The overthrow of the Perſian empire by the arms of Macedon, which the Prophets had announced, gave a beginning to the buſy ſcene; and Alexander's fortunes, as it had been foretold, terminated here; his kindred and poſterity having periſhed. Inſtead of enjoying any advantage from his conqueſts, they were perhaps undone by them. Nor did his achievements operate to the proſperity of Greece, or even of Macedon. Depopulation, a diſputed throne, and the repeated inroads of enemies, brought Macedon to the brink of deſtruction. Inteſtine diviſions, and a general decay of virtue reduced Greece from a ſtate of ſplendor to a condition the moſt contemptible. One commonwealth, that of Achaia, was all that remained; and though it had formerly been little known, its improved polity, and unbroken manners, might have rendered it the bulwark of Greece. This, however, was prevented by the jealouſy of its turbulent neighbours. Envious of its growing power, they provoked a war in which all Greece was ſoon involved, and

which at laſt invited the Roman ambition, and effected the ruin of this unhappy country. From the acceſſion of Alexander to the entry of the Romans into Greece, there elapſed one hundred and twenty-four years.

V. The period which cloſes the melancholy proſpect of the Grecian decline, comprehends the ſeveral plans of avowed hoſtility and of diſguiſed perfidiouſneſs, which the Romans employed in order to ſubject and accuſtom this illuſtrious people to the yoke of ſervitude. It includes their wars, affected lenity, and inſidious conventions with the princes of Macedon, until they had brought that kingdom to a final ſubmiſſion; their treatment of the Aetolians, and of the Epirots; their memorable treachery to Achaia; the burning of Corinth; the utter extinction of liberty in Greece; the various calamities which flowed from Roman oppreſſion, or the incurſions of barbarians, during the long period of ſixteen hundred years, till the taking of Conſtantinople by the Othmans delivered this unfortunate country into the hands of other tyrants; and finally, the condition in which the abject race, who now bear the name of Greeks, are to be found at this day, under the cruel and humiliating ſcourge of deſpotiſm.

The two laſt of theſe periods compoſe the ſubject

of the preſent undertaking, upon which the Author has employed the pains and the induſtry that correſpond with its importance. It does not, however, become him to affirm, that his abilities were equal to the taſk in which he has been engaged; and while he ſubmits himſelf with diffidence to the judgment of the public, he knows and reſpects its impartiality. During the courſe of his labors, he has pleaſed himſelf with the reflection, that a ſincere deſire of contributing to the proſperity of his country was impreſſed upon his mind; and he felt himſelf to be animated with the hope, that the errors and misfortunes of other nations and other times might induce his fellow-citizens to ſet the higher value upon a conſtitution which has freedom for its object, and which protects and ſupports the natural and inherent rights of mankind.

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

Character and death of Philip of Macedon — State of Macedonian affairs, foreign and domeſtic, at the acceſſion of Alexander — His activity and vigor in ſurmounting the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded — Appointed Captain-general of Greece againſt the Perſians — Humbles the northern borderers — Executes exemplary vengeance on the Thebans, who had revolted upon a report of his death — Settles his European affairs — Paſſes the Helleſpont — Defeats the Perſians on the banks of the Granicus — Reduces the lower Aſia — Advances into Silicia — Is detained at Tarſus by a dangerous illneſs — Recovers — Meets Darius in battle at Iſſus — Defeats him — Takes the Perſian camp, with the wife and daughters of Darius — Behaves nobly to the captive princeſſes — Damaſcus ſurrenders to him, with the Ambaſſadors, formerly ſent by ſome of the Grecian States to Darius — His treatment of them — Lays ſiege to Tyre — Takes it — Spares Jeruſalem — Takes Gaza — Enters and reduces Egypt — Viſits the temple of Jupiter Ammon — Tampers

with the prieſts of the Oracle, and pretends to be a God — Gives battle to Darius at Gaugamela — Defeats him with great ſlaughter. Page 1

SECTION II.

Surrender of Babylon; of Suſa; of Perſepolis; and of Paſargadae with their treaſures — The effects of this rich plunder — Darius treated perfidiouſly by Beſſus; and murdered by the aſſociates of that traitor — Change in the manners of Alexander — He puts to death Philotas; and Parmenio — Kills Clitus — Feels compunction — Is corrupted by flatterers — Seeks to obtain divine honors — Is oppoſed by Calliſthenes — Reſents it — Calliſthenes charged with encouraging a conſpiracy againſt Alexander — Is put to death — Alexander finds it neceſſary to divert the attention of his army to other ſcenes — Reduces ſeveral of the Indian tribes — Is oppoſed by Porus — Defeats him — Spreads devaſtation to the Hyphaſis — Propoſes to paſs on to the Ganges — And to conquer the whole world — His ſoldiers refuſe to proceed — He is highly diſpleaſed — Obliged to yield to their wiſhes — His vanity - - 58

SECTION III.

Alexander viſits the Indian ocean — Returns by the inhoſpitable tract of Gadroſia — The loſs he ſuſtains — Iniquitous conduct and puniſhment of the governors he had appointed — His army mutinies — He reduces them to obedience — Hephaeſtion dies — Alexander's exceſſes on that occaſion — Returns to Babylon — Is

distressed by ill-boding omens — Has recourse to intemperance — Dies — His character — The judgment to be formed of his achievements; and the benefits of which they have been productive. Page 102

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

Alterations, from Philip's accession, in the political system of the several Grecian states — with regard to Persia — and of Macedon — from what causes — Agis of Lacedemon attempts to vindicate the Grecian liberties against Macedon — his spirited conduct — defeat — and death — Character of Demosthenes, considered as a patriot — his unjust condemnation and banishment — The Athenians, exasperated by Alexander's control of their liberties, prepare for war — upon Alexander's death take up arms — recal Demosthenes — march against Antipater — their imprudent confidence — defeated — forced to submit to the Macedonians. — Demosthenes flies to Calauria — dies — in what manner — abasement of Athens after his death - - - - - 137

SECTION II.

General state of affairs in Asia, from Alexander's death to the battle of Ipsus — Alexander's generals destroy his family — and divide his dominions among themselves — Antigonus, and Demetrius his son, kings of Syria, provoke the other chiefs by their haughty and ambitious

claims—are defeated at Ipsus—Antigonus is slain—Demetrius saves himself by flight—is stripped of most of his dominions—endeavours to recover them—in vain—is forced to yield himself a prisoner to Seleucus—dies in confinement—his character—and various fortunes. Page 162

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

View of the domestic state of the kingdom of Macedon, under the administration of Antipater — Polyperchon — Cassander — and Demetrius Poliorcetes — misfortunes — and final overthrow of Alexander's whole family - - - - - 198

SECTION II.

Lysimachus gets possession of the throne of Macedon — his character — is slain by Seleucus — Seleucus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus — Ptolemy Ceraunus, by the Gauls. — The Gauls lay waste Macedon — attempt Delphi — are repulsed — and retire. — Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, lays claim to the kingdom of Macedon — and obtains it — is attacked by another body of Gauls — defeats them. — Pyrrhus of Epire invades Macedon — defeats and dispossesses Antigonus — attacks Sparta — is repulsed — marches to Argos — is slain — his character - 227

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

Macedonian and Grecian affairs under Antigonus — his ſon Demetrius — and Antigonus the ſecond, kings of Macedon. — Origin of the republic of Achaia — it's decay — re-eſtabliſhment — aggrandizement, and proſperity — from what cauſes. Page 259

SECTION II.

The Aetolians — their character — jealous of Achaia — excite Cleomenes, king of Sparta, againſt the Achaeans — character of Cleomenes — his abilities and ſucceſs — the Achaeans diſtreſſed by Cleomenes — call in the aid of Antigonus king of Macedon — Antigonus marches againſt Cleomenes — defeats him — Cleomenes eſcapes to Egypt — Antigonus returns to Macedon — fights the barbarians — obtains a complete victory — dies — his character - 287

HISTORY

OF GREECE.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Character and death of Philip of Macedon — State of Macedonian affairs, foreign and domeſtic, at the acceſſion of Alexander — His activity and vigor in ſurmounting the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded — Appointed Captain-general of Greece againſt the Perſians — Humbles the northern borderers — Executes exemplary vengeance on the Thebans, who had revolted upon a report of his death — Settles his European affairs — Paſſes the Helleſpont — Defeats the Perſians on the banks of the Granicus — Reduces the lower Aſia — Advances into Silicia — Is detained at Tarſus by a dangerous illneſs — Recovers — Meets Darius in battle at Iſſus — Defeats him — Takes the Perſian camp, with the wife and daughters of Darius — Behaves nobly to the captive princeſſes — Damaſcus ſurrenders to him, with the Embaſſadors, formerly ſent by ſome of the Grecian States to Darius — His treatment of them — Lays ſiege to Tyre — Takes it — Spares Jeruſalem — Takes Gaza — Enters and reduces Egypt — Viſits the temple of Jupiter Ammon — Tampers

with the prieſts of the Oracle, and pretends to be a God — Gives battle to Darius at Gangamela — Defeats him with great ſlaughter.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

THE deep policy of Philip of Macedon, and the artful uſe he made of the mutual jealouſies and conteſts of the ſeveral Grecian States, of the venality of their orators and leaders, and of that decay of public ſpirit which was become general throughout Greece, had, during the courſe of his reign [1], raiſed the Macedonian kingdom to a degree of power far beyond what its late humility of fortune ſeemed to promiſe. His military character was little inferior to his political. And if, to the ſagacity of the ſtateſman and the vigor of the warrior, he had joined thoſe virtues which give to the regal dignity its brighteſt luſtre, all remains of independence had probably been loſt to the Grecian people.

Abilities of Philip of Macedon.

Philip's own miſconduct prevented it. Intemperate in the purſuit of ſenſual gratifications, he had, for ſome time before his death, rendered his court a ſcene of ſtrife and diſtraction. In order to wed Cleopatra, a young Princeſs of whom he happened to be enamoured, he had endeavoured to throw ſuſpicions on his wife Olympias. His ſon Alexander, impatient of his mother's wrongs, he had driven from his preſence, and forced him to ſeek for refuge among the enemies of his country. From his partiality to the creatures of his young queen, he had treated with neglect ſome of his moſt faithful ſervants; and

His private character.

[1] He reigned about twenty-four years.

at laſt, by his iniquitous protection of one of his new favorites, he provoked the blow which put an end to his life. Pauſanias, a young Macedonian of noble birth, had been injured in a moſt ſenſible manner by one of Cleopatra's kinſmen, and upon applying to the king for juſtice, had found his complaint diſregarded. Pride, mortification, and reſentment, rendered him deſperate. He marked his opportunity; and as Philip, on a day of public feſtivity, was entering into the theatre, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are hiſtorians who pretend, that he was encouraged to this deed of violence by ſome of the king's own family; and that his accomplices were numerous [2]. But neither the one nor the other ſeems

His death.

[2] The death of Philip ſeems to have furniſhed much matter of accuſation, which the voice of faction, of private animoſity, and even of ambition, occaſionally employed againſt whatever perſons they thought it was their intereſt to deſtroy, or to blacken. When Alexander invaded Aſia, he charged (Arrian, l. ii. c. 14.) the Perſian court with the guilt of it, alledging it as one of the injuries that had called him forth againſt Darius. At the ſame time, Alexander himſelf did not eſcape; and, in the treatment he had received from his father, and the ſpirit with which he had reſented it, his enemies diſcovered reaſons ſufficient for ſuſpecting, that he had ſhared in a crime, to which he owed his ſecurity, and the throne he was in poſſeſſion of. The like ſuſpicions had place againſt Olympias; and her paſſionate exceſſes ſtrengthened them. Severely injured by the late king, and of a temper violent and vindictive, ſhe ſaw, with exultation, in Philip's death, the overthrow of a faction which had inſulted her, and of a rival whom ſhe abhorred. His fall was her triumph, and ſhe indulged it. With her own hands ſhe placed a golden crown on the head of his aſſaſſin, when hanging on the gibbet, and conſecrated the very dagger which had

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

to be true. Poſſibly ſome perſons, obnoxious on other accounts, may have been involved in the ſuſpicion; and, to have rejoiced at the ſucceſs of the crime, which, doubtleſs, was the caſe with many, may have been conſidered as an argument of their having ſhared in the guilt.

Temper of the nations bordering on Macedon, at the time of Alexander's acceſſion.

The abilities and enterpriſing ſpirit of Philip, had rendered him the terror of his neighbours. They haſted to avail themſelves of the favorable change of circumſtances, which his death, the defenceleſs ſtate of Macedon, the embarraſſments and the ſuppoſed inexperience of his ſucceſſor, preſented to their view. The Thracian borderers, who had been lately reduced, threw off the yoke. Illyricum followed the example. In Theſſaly, all was in commotion: and ſuch was the ferment throughout the reſt of Greece, as ſeemed evidently to forebode a total revolution of intereſts.

State of affairs in Macedon.

At home alſo, the Macedonian affairs were in much confuſion; moſt of the chief men being either ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, or proſecuting private animoſities one againſt another. The blow which had proved fatal to Philip, was ſuppoſed to have come from a formidable party, of which Pauſanias was only the inſtrument. The princes of the blood had each their pretenſions. Olympias had her

drank his blood in the temple of one of her gods. Hiſtorians have often pronounced from ſlighter proofs. Such a decided conduct was conſidered as an unqueſtionable argument of her having directed the blow ſhe rejoiced in; of which, however, had ſhe been really guilty, probably ſhe had been more artful in diſguiſing her ſentiments. — See Juſt. l. ix. c. 7.

adherents: the young queen Cleopatra hers. And the uncle of the latter, Attalus, who, together with Parmenio, had the command of the forces in Aſia, was ſaid to entertain the moſt ambitious and criminal views[3].

Vigorous meaſures purſued by Alexander.

Alexander perceived the dangers that threatened him without being diſmayed. He began his reign with revenging his father's death; he ſuppreſſed different factions that threatened the domeſtic peace of his kingdom; and contrived to have Attalus taken off, before he could carry his deſigns, whatever they were, into execution.

Baffles the people of Theſſaly, and enter Greece.

Greece employed his attention next. The Theſſalians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the defiles, which lay between their country and Macedon. He eluded them, by paſſing over the craggy top of mount Oſſa; and was already in Theſſaly, before it was imagined he had entered upon his march. Without loſs of time, he proceeded to the Corinthian iſthmus, where the general convention of the States of Greece was held, and laid before them his claim, requiring, that they ſhould appoint him Captain-general againſt the Perſians, with the ſame powers they had granted to his father. Moſt of the Grecian States were ſecretly inimical to his intereſt. The deputies of Sparta, nevertheleſs, were the only perſons in this aſſembly who had the firmneſs to avow their ſentiments. "The "Lacedæmonians," ſaid they, "are accuſtomed to "lead the way to glorious exploits, not to follow

[3] See Arrian, l. i. c. 1 & ſeq. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Juſtin, l. xi. Plutarch. in Alexand. & Demoſthene.

BOOK I.

Sect. I.

Is appointed Captain-general againſt the Perſians. Reduces the Barbarian tribes to the north of Macedon.

"the lead of others." Their repreſentations, however, had little weight. The preſence of the young King, the activity and vigor he had diſplayed, together with his inſinuating addreſs, made all oppoſition fall before him[4].

Alexander returned with expedition to the north, in order to ſecure his frontier on the ſide of Thrace. The Thracians were a fierce people, of remarkable ſtrength of body, whoſe dwellings were in faſtneſſes and mountains exceedingly high, and difficult of acceſs. Alexander attacked and diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſtrong holds; and reduced them to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe. Theſe terms, in appearance void of ſeverity, ſhow, that, to the ſpirit of the young warrior, Alexander had already joined the profound policy of the old chieftain. He required, that their principal leaders, with a choſen body of their braveſt men, ſhould attend his banners; thus ſtrenghtening himſelf with the acceſſion of the moſt warlike people then known, and at the ſame time taking with him the ſureſt pledges of their future fealty[5]. The adjacent nations, the Triballi, the Getæ, and the ſeveral Celtic tribes on both ſides of the Danube, he attacked in the ſame vigorous manner, and with the like ſucceſs[6]. Thence he moved on to Illyricum. The

[4] Olymp. cxi. 1. Before Chriſt 336.

[5] Frontin. Stratagem. l. ii. c. 11.

[6] Alexander aſked the Celtes, "What they feared moſt?" He expected, it ſeems, a compliment; but theſe rough ſons of freedom made anſwer, "They had no fear but "one, leſt the ſky ſhould fall on them." Pleaſed with their

Illyrians had assembled a powerful force, and stood prepared to meet him; they were nevertheless totally defeated, and Clytus, their King, who had encouraged the defection, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the neighbouring Barbarians.

Report of his death.

During these transactions, a report prevailed, that Alexander had fallen in battle against the Illyrians. The Greeks in general, the Thebans and Athenians especially, received the tidings with an eager credulity, and the most intemperate joy. At Athens, the event was celebrated as the restoration of public liberty; the most spirited decrees were proposed; and the Macedonian name was treated with great indignity. At Thebes, they proceeded still farther. Cadmea, the citadel, was garrisoned by Macedonians. The Thebans put immediately to the sword all the Macedonian officers they could seize; and having summoned the garrison to surrender, upon refusal, laid siege to the citadel.

Alexander marches to Thebes;

Alexander had no left Illyricum, when the news of this revolt reached him. He instantly marched with the utmost expedition; and was within sight of Thebes before the Thebans would believe that he was alive. At first, he was unwilling to proceed to extremities, in hopes, that a sense of danger might induce the Thebans to adopt more moderate councils, and only demanded, that the promoters of the revolt should be delivered up. But perceiving that,

spirit, he pronounced them his friends and confederates; adding, however, "the Celtes are a haughty people." Arrian, l. i. c. 4.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

instead of being reformed by this lenity, they treated him with greater inſult, he at length gave a looſe to his reſentment; and having taken the city by ſtorm, abandoned to military execution all thoſe who were found in arms. The reſt of the inhabitants he ſold for ſlaves; the prieſts excepted, with thoſe to whom the Macedonians were bound by the ties of hoſpitality; the deſcendents of Pindar, and ſuch as had oppoſed the late tumultuous meaſures. It is ſaid, that the number of Thebans thus doomed to ſlavery, amounted to thirty thouſand. The city alſo the victor levelled with the ground, not ſuffering one building to be preſerved, but the temples, and the houſe where Pindar had been born.

takes it by ſtorm,

and levels it.

Generous conduct of the Athenians.

The manner in which the Athenians acted on this occaſion, does them great honor. They were guilty, as well as the Thebans, and had every thing to fear from the victorious Macedonian. They nevertheleſs made public lamentations for the overthrow of Thebes, ſuſpending on that account, even the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries, the moſt highly revered feſtival at Athens; and afforded protection to all the Thebans that fled to them, notwithſtanding Alexander's expreſs injunction, "that no "Grecian ſtate ſhould preſume to give them ſhelter."

The impreſſion it makes on Alexander.

It is probable, the generous compaſſion which Athens exhibited to this unfortunate people, made an impreſſion on the mind of Alexander himſelf. Hiſtorians obſerve, that, though at firſt he appeared much diſpleaſed, he afterwards received the embaſſy, which they ſent to apologize for their diſobedience, with marks of ſingular eſteem. "Your Athenians,"

ſaid he to Phocion, "ſhou'd look to themſelves; "for, were any misfortune to befal me, they alone, "of all the Greeks, are worthy to command [7]." The only puniſhment he inflicted on them, was, that they ſhould baniſh Charidemus, and ſeven other orators, who had been moſt active in ſtirring up the people. Upon a ſecond application, he remitted much even of this, contenting himſelf with the exile of Charidemus, the ſharpneſs of whoſe invectives had given him particular offence [8]. Charidemus accordingly left Athens, and fled to the court of Perſia. We ſhall have occaſion to mention him hereafter.

Charidemus the orator is baniſhed.

The extreme ſeverity with which the Thebans were treated, is not to be juſtified upon any ground, perhaps, but that of political neceſſity. As an intimidating example, it undoubtedly had its uſe. Greece was thereby completely humbled: for whatever might be the ſecret inclinations of the different States, they ſaw it was not now the time to aſſert their liberties againſt a Prince, whoſe power was not to be reſiſted, and at whoſe hands no mercy was to be expected.

The fate of Thebes terrifies Greece.

The affairs of Greece being thus compoſed, and the ſecurity of his kingdom provided for, Alexander found leiſure to purſue his favorite plan of carrying his arms into Aſia. Little more than a year had elapſed ſince Philip's death, and already had his ſon, though but twenty years old when he aſcended the throne,

Alexander prepares to paſs into Aſia.

[7] Plutarch in Phocion.

[8] Plutarch in Demoſthene.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

ſtruck terror into the moſt formidable of the ſurrounding nations, and diſſipated every league that had been formed againſt him. Upon his return to Macedon, he declared his intention of entering on the Perſian war the enſuing ſpring. Parmenio and Antipater would have perſuaded him to defer it, until he was married, and had male offspring; but Alexander was too eager for military glory to brook delay. It is alſo probable, that his ſituation did not admit of it. His forces were ripe for action; they had been formed by a ſucceſſion of hardy achievements; and ſhould they now be ſuffered to ſink into inactivity, they might loſe much of their preſent vigor. His finances, beſides were nearly exhauſted; and the very means of ſupporting ſuch an army were only to be derived from the conqueſts he had in contemplation.

Settles the affairs of his kingdom.

The intervening winter was employed in making the neceſſary arrangements previous to his departure, and in ſettling the internal concerns of his kingdom. The attention he beſtowed on theſe domeſtic matters, and the wiſdom of his meaſures, ſpeak him not leſs intelligent in the arts of peace than in the buſineſs of war. He had reaſon to fear, that ſome remains of diſaffection were yet lurking in many parts of his dominions; and that the feuds, which had diſturbed the beginning of his reign, might burſt out afreſh. He, therefore, made it his ſtudy to eſtabliſh himſelf in the hearts of his people, to efface, if poſſible, every remembrance of party-diſtinction from among them, and to make them all conſpire in advancing the public happineſs and tranquillity. With this view, he appointed ſolemn feſtivals to be held

at Aegae [9], which were celebrated with great magnificence, and to which all Macedon was invited. He afterwards distributed his whole patrimony among his friends and principal subjects; giving to one a village, to another a district of land, to a third a portion of the royal revenues. "What then do you "reserve for yourself?" said Parmenio to him. "My "hopes," answered the Prince. "Permit us then, "who mean to share in your dangers," replied Parmenio, "to share also in your hopes;" and refused to accept the estate which Alexander would have bestowed on him. There were others who followed the example of Parmenio.

Alexander next committed the regency of his kingdom to Antipater, an aged nobleman of distinguished abilities, who had been one of his father's chief counsellors; and provided a sufficient body of troops to answer any sudden emergency.

Passes the Hellespont.

All things being now in readiness he prepared, upon the first opening of the spring, to pass the Hellespont. His whole army amounted to about thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, with provisions only for one month, and in the military chest there was no more than seventy talents [10]. Agreeable to this slender provision was his naval

[9] Or Aegeae, *the city of the goats*; so called in memory of an old tradition, that Caranus, a prince of the house of Hercules, who first led a colony of Greeks into this country, and was the founder of the kingdom of Macedon, was conducted thither by a flock of goats, which the oracle had commanded him to follow. Justin L. vii. c. 1.

[10] £. 13,562.10 *s.* 0 *d.*—Arbuthnot.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

equipment, conſiſting moſtly of tranſports, with few ſhips of ſtrength: the Macedonians having never had a powerful navy, the expenſe of which, indeed, they were not able to maintain. Yet from ſo inconſiderable a force as we have deſcribed, was the greateſt empire of Aſia to receive its overthrow.

The effect this expedition had in Greece

Upon Alexander's paſſing into Aſia, all Greece ſeemed to have paſſed over with him, ſuch an univerſal inactivity ſucceeded to the uſual buſtle of this buſy nation; the hopes or fears of the ſeveral Grecian States turning to that important field, where their fortunes were now to be decided. If Alexander ſuffered diſcomfiture, Greece had ſtill a chance for her liberties; if he proved victorious her ſubjection was inevitable. The hiſtory of Alexander at this period, is the hiſtory of Greece.

Inattention of the Perſians.

It ſeems amazing, that the Perſians, who could not but have intelligence of his deſigns, and might eaſily have covered the ſea with fleets, made no attempt to interrupt him in his paſſage. But this devoted people were infatuated; of which their hiſtory, at this period, affords frequent inſtances.

Alexander lands in Aſia.

Alexander, having landed without oppoſition, made it his firſt buſineſs to viſit the ruins of Troy, and the monuments yet remaining of thoſe heroes whom Homer had ſung; as if to pleaſe his imagination with a view of the ſeat where Greece, in ancient days, had triumphed over the powers of Aſia. In the ſame ſpirit, he cauſed games to be celebrated, and extraordinary honors to be paid, at the tombs of ſeveral of thoſe illuſtrious Greeks who had fallen in that memorable war; particularly at the tomb of

Achilles, whom he numbered among his progenitors, and whoſe military character he affected to imitate. His ſituation, it might be imagined, called for other thoughts. But to a mind of ſuch a temper as Alexander's, theſe ſcenes afforded allurements too powerful to be reſiſted.

Darius's generals are divided about their plan of operations.

Mean while, Darius's generals were divided in opinion about their plan of operations. Memnon of Rhodes, the ableſt and moſt faithful officer in the Perſian ſervice, counſelled to avoid battle with the Macedonians; and to lay waſte the country, in order to deprive them of ſubſiſtence. Had this wiſe meaſure been adopted, Alexander had ſoon found himſelf in great perplexity. But the vain confidence of the other commanders, and their jealouſy of Memnon, ſaved the Macedonians. Arſites, ſatrap of the lower Phrygia, vaunted that, "not the ſmalleſt "village in his government ſhould ſuffer inconve- "nience on account of this contemptible band of "adventurers."

Reſolve to diſpute the paſſage of the Granicus.

It was accordingly determined to wait for the Macedonians at the paſſage of the Granicus. And, if a battle was to be fought, it muſt be owned, the Perſians could hardly have choſen their ground more advantageouſly. The Granicus is a deep and rapid river; its banks are ſteep; the ſoil crumbling; and its bottom, from the nature of the mud that covers it, exceedingly ſlippery[11]. Acroſs this river lay the way into Upper Phrygia. The Perſians, beſides, were far ſuperior to Alexander in horſe;

[11] See Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, Let. 22.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

and it was not ſuppoſed, that the Macedonian infantry could perform much ſervice, from the unavoidable delay that muſt be incurred in their paſſing the river.

Alexander, who had exact intelligence of the motions of his enemy, nevertheleſs held on his march [11]. On ſight of the enemy drawn up on the oppoſite bank, and of the difficulties to be ſurmounted before he could cloſe with them, his generals began to be apprehenſive of the iſſue, and would have diſſuaded him from the attempt; beſeeching him at leaſt to delay the attack till next day. But Alexander ſaw, how diſreputable to his arms, and therefore, how prejudicial to his affairs, any appearance of heſitation muſt prove at this juncture; and moving forward with his cavalry, he immediately commanded the forlorn hope to enter the river; he himſelf, amidſt the acclamations of his army following at the head of the right wing, whilſt Parmenio, at the ſame time, advanced at the head of the left. That his men, however, might not have both the rapidity of the current and the weight of the enemy to contend with, he with great judgment, inſtructed them not to go directly acroſs, but to march obliquely down the ſtream, in order to have leiſure to form, before they reached the oppoſite bank.

Battle of the Granicus.

The Perſians were not wanting to themſelves; and aſſiſted by their ſituation, preſſed on the Macedonians with ſuch vigor, that the foremoſt ranks of the latter, found it impoſſible to carry the bank, and

[11] OLYMP. CXI. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 334.

were falling back in confuſion. Alexander obſerved their diſtreſs, and ruſhing amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy, reſtored the battle, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Perſians; who diſputed the ground inch by inch, oppoſing man to man, and horſe to horſe; and having marked where the King fought, poured their braveſt troops towards that quarter. Accordingly, ſeveral of the King's guards, and thoſe neareſt his perſon, were ſlain; and he himſelf, had it not been for the quickneſs and addreſs of Clitus, had loſt his life. For Rhoeſaces, a Perſian officer of diſtinction, having diſcharged his faulchion on the King's helmet, and cut off part of his creſt; as Alexander turned upon him, Spithridates, another noble Perſian, came up behind, which Clitus perceiving, he ſprung forward, and with one blow ſevered the Perſian's arm from his body, at the inſtant it was raiſed to ſtrike the King. The perils to which Alexander had been expoſed, ſerved only to inſpire him and his Macedonians with freſh ardor. They were now irreſiſtible; and, bearing down all before them, obliged the Perſians, who were breaking on every ſide, to betake themſelves to flight. One body of infantry only remained, of about ten thouſand Greek mercenaries; who, whether through amazement at the ſudden diſcomfiture of their friends, or in hopes of obtaining favorable terms, continued on the field of battle. But Alexander, having commanded his troops to ſorround them, put moſt of them to the ſword, after they had, for ſome time, made a gallant reſiſtance. Two thouſand were taken priſoners, whom Alexander condemned to ſlavery,

The Perſians defeated.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

and tranſported into Macedon to be employed in the public works; to intimidate by this act of ſeverity the Greeks from ſerving in the armies of the Perſian King; whoſe beſt troops he knew were compoſed of ſuch mercenaries.

Their ſtrength.

What the numbers of the Perſians were, upon this occaſion, hiſtorians are not agreed; ſome making them amount to a hundred thouſand; ſome to ſix hundred thouſand. Arrian, whoſe relation ſeems to deſerve moſt credit, makes the account much lower. According to him, the Perſian cavalry amounted to twenty thouſand, and their infantry nearly to the ſame number: of whom were ſlain two thouſand five hundred of the cavalry; and of the infantry, ten thouſand.

The numbers of the Macedonians.

On the ſide of Alexander, there were five thouſand horſe, who, together with a few of the light-armed infantry, were the only part of the Grecian army that engaged; for the battle appears to have been over before the Macedonian phalanx had croſſed the river.

Alexander's gratitnde.

Alexander took care, that his troops ſhould ſee the ſenſe he had of their gallant behaviour. One hundred and fifteen Macedonians had fallen. Orders were iſſued, that their families ſhould enjoy the moſt ample privileges, and be for ever exempt from ſervice and tribute. Of this number, twenty-five were of the King's guards, who fell in the beginning of the action, fighting around his perſon. Their memory he honored in a particular manner. Their

Honors paid to the Greeks who had fallen.

ſtatues were caſt in braſs, and placed at Dium in Macedon; where Metellus, when the Romans

ſubdued

ſubdued that country, found them, and removed them to Rome.

The reſt of the army were not forgotten. They received every recompence, which a victorious and grateful general could beſtow; public acknowledgements, military honors, pecuniary rewards. He even viſited in perſon the wounded, taking care that they ſhould be treated with great attention and tenderneſs.

Recompenſes the living.

He was alſo ambitious, that Greece ſhould be fully informed of the ſucceſs of his arms. Preſents of the richeſt of the ſpoils were ſent to Olympias and his Macedonian friends; and three hundred complete ſuits of armour to Athens, with ſuitable inſcriptions, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva.

Sends trophies to Greece.

In juſtice to Alexander, it muſt be confeſſed, that to his conduct and ſpirited example, this victory is chiefly to be aſcribed. It appears alſo, that many of the Perſian chiefs acquitted themſelves with great courage, and might have turned the fortune of the day, had they been properly ſupported. Memnon and his ſons diſtinguiſhed themſelves among the foremoſt combatants, and for a time rendered the iſſue doubtful. That gallant commander, though the action had been brought on contrary to his ſentiments and opinion, did what valor could perform, and retired only when he ſaw that all was loſt. Arſites, by whoſe counſel the battle had been fought, was ſo deeply affected at the unfortunate event that he laid violent hands on himſelf.

Gallant behaviour of ſome of the Perſian chiefs.

This victory was attended with important conſequences. Sardis, the chief city of Lycia, and

Several of the provinces of Lower Aſia ſubmit.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

once the royal ſeat of the Lydian kings, ſubmitted immediately. The ſeveral cities likewiſe of Phrygia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Caria, Ionia, opened their gates to the conqueror, Miletus and Halicarnaſſus excepted; and of theſe alſo he ſoon made himſelf maſter, though vigorouſly defended, the latter even by Memnon. Within the courſe of a few months, therefore, from his paſſing the Helleſpont, he had reduced moſt of the provinces of the Lower Aſia.

Soon after the reduction of Miletus, he diſmiſſed his fleet; a meaſure ſeemingly raſh, but the reſult, nevertheleſs, of mature deliberation. A naval armament required an expenſe, which he could not well defray; with the utmoſt pains, he would, after all, have found it impoſſible to maintain a ſuperiority at ſea againſt the powerful navies of Phœnicia and Cyprus: and to have attempted an engagement, and been defeated, though nothing worſe had followed, would probably have encouraged the Greeks to riſe againſt him. His only road to victory was, therefore, by land; and, if all the ſea-ports were once ſubdued, the ſhipping muſt, in the end, be his alſo.

The wiſdom of Alexander, in improving the advantages obtained.

His wiſdom, in improving the advantages [13] which his arms had obtained, was not leſs conſpicuous than his valor had been in obtaining them. He took care that agriculture and civil government ſhould ſucceed to the devaſtations of war. Thoſe Macedonians in whom he could beſt confide, he appointed governors over the ſeveral provinces; inſtructing

[13] See Chandler's Travels in Lower Aſia, chap. ix.

them to ſtrengthen the new eſtabliſhments by the lenity of their adminiſtration; and to make the nations over whom they were to rule, feel the difference between the Grecian laws, and the arbitrary oppreſſions under which they had recently groaned. In the Greek cities, he reſtored the democratical form of government, to which the citizens were fondly attached, recommending it to them, that, whatever wrongs they had ſuffered under the late adminiſtration, they ſhould not ſeek for revenge. At the ſame time he viſited in perſon thoſe places which ſeemed to demand his preſence, attentive to what the circumſtances of each people required, and ſtudious to heal the breaches that yet remained; impoſing no new tribute, and even lightening the burden of thoſe who appeared to want relief [14]. Theſe noble cares employed him until the return of the ſeaſon fitted for military [15] operations.

Gordian knot.

It was in the courſe of this progreſs, that he is ſaid to have performed the famed achievement of the Gordian knot. At Gordium in Phrygia, the capital city of old Midas, in one of the temples was the yoke of a chariot, ſuſpended to a beam, the knot of which was contrived with ſuch art, that it was not poſſible to diſcover the ends. And, "to the "perſon who ſhould unlooſe it," ſaid the Barbarians,

[14] At Epheſus particularly, he applied the tribute which the citizens were wont to pay, to the rebuilding of the temple of Diana, the favorite Goddeſs of the Epheſian people, which had been conſumed with fire on the night on which he was born.

[15] See Arrian, L. ii. c. 3. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 1.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

"the oracles had deſtined the empire of the world." Alexander, according to ſome hiſtorians, cut the knot; determined, if he could not fulfil the oracle, that no other perſon ſhould. But Ariſtobulus, who accompanied the King, relates the ſtory in a different manner. The pin which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was paſſed through the knot: the pin, therefore, taken out, the charm was diſſolved, and Alexander drew out the yoke without difficulty. If the incident is true, it is plain Alexander did not diſdain to avail himſelf of the ſuperſtition of the vulgar, as well as of the artifice of the prieſts, from whom, doubtleſs, he had received inſtructions before he ventured on an attempt in which it had been dangerous for him to have failed.

Memnon dies.

Mean while, Memnon died. This was the ſevereſt loſs Darius had yet ſuſtained [16]. Previous to his death, that General had formed a plan, the only one that could have ſaved the Perſian empire, and of which his royal maſter had approved, to remove the war into Greece. In order to effect this, he had already begun to reduce thoſe iſlands, which had revolted to the Macedonians, and was before Mitylene at the time of his death. From thence he was to have paſſed into Euboea, and from Euboea into Peloponneſus, where, having formed a confederacy with the ſeveral Grecian States to whom the Macedonian was become formidable, he was to have poured the war into Macedon, and have obliged Alexander to attend to the defence of his

His advice to Darius.

[16] See Arrian, L. ii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. L. xvii.

hereditary dominions. But the ſupreme Arbiter of events had pronounced, that the empire of the Medes and Perſians ſhould be no more; and removed from Darius the only reſource he had left to avert the blow.

The conſequence of his death.

While Memnon lived, Alexander had confined his attention to the ſecurity of the Lower Aſia. Upon his death, as if relieved from all farther apprehenſions on that ſide, he declared his reſolution of penetrating into the upper provinces. What enabled him the better to attempt it, was, that the returning ſpring had brought him large reinforcements. At the cloſe of the former campaign, he had granted to his army an indulgence, from which he now derived conſiderable benefit. In the ſpirit of the Jewiſh law (of which, probably, he had information from Ariſtotle, who could not but have ſome acquaintance with the ſacred Writings) he had given his Macedonian ſoldiers, who were lately married, permiſſion to return home, and ſpend the winter with their wives [17]. In the effuſion of their gratitude, they had reported the King in ſo advantageous a manner, and ſpread ſuch ſplendid accounts of the exploits achieved, and the rich conqueſts made, that numbers crowded to a ſervice, in which ſuch noble rewards were to be obtained.

Darius marches againſt Alexander.

At the ſame time Darius, who had no general whom he could employ in the place of Memnon, had determined to march in perſon againſt the enemy, and prepared to leave Suſa.

[17] Arrian. L. ii. c. 25.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

Pageantry of his march.

The ſplendor, or rather pageantry, that Darius affected on this occaſion, gives us the higheſt idea of the wealth and of the folly of the Perſian monarch. His army numbered ſix hundred thouſand men. Their dreſs, the trappings of their horſes, the ornaments of their elephants, their very armour, exhibited, we are told, the moſt coſtly diſplay of ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones. The chariot of Darius, its materials and curious workmanſhip, the richneſs of his royal mantle, veſt, and tiara, and the profuſion of jewels with which he was covered, were ſuch, that hiſtory has not diſdained to record them particularly [18]. The retinue by which he was attended, was ſuitable to this ſtate. He carried in his train, in the greateſt abundance, all thoſe miniſters and implements of luxury, in which the Aſiatics have been always known to delight. Their women made part of their military train; and beſides Darius's mother, wife, and children, he had with him three hundred and ſixty concubines. It may be ſuppoſed, that the officers of his army but too faithfully copied their maſter's example.

Charidemus ventures to adviſe Darius.

Charidemus was among the attendants of the Perſian King. He had been obliged, as we have ſeen, to leave Athens, and enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of the royal favor. Darius, full of confidence in his numbers, and who beheld, with great complacency, the gay appearance they made, aſked him, "What he thought would now become of "Alexander and his handful of men?" The gene-

[18] See Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 3.

rous Greek, though an exile, though ſeverely injured by the King of Macedon, and a daily witneſs of the abject ſervility with which, whatever fell from Darius, was received, could not ſuppreſs his honeſt indignation. He told him, "He was much miſtaken, if he imagined, that this vain parade could avail againſt the men whom he was marching to attack; the rough Thracians, the hardy Illyrians, the reſolute and well-diſciplined Greeks; men, to whom no dangers were new, and who had been long inured to every kind of toil — that, if he hoped for victory, inſtead of laviſhing his vaſt treaſures in the ſupport of this effeminate multitude, he had better ſend to Thrace, to Illyricum, to Greece, for forces which he might ſafely oppoſe to thoſe of Alexander, as they had the ſame hardineſs, the ſame vigor, the ſame expertneſs in arms — that, would he vouchſafe to intruſt him, he was ready to undertake the charge; and, if he was only enabled to raiſe among thoſe valiant nations, an army equal to one ſixth part of the numbers which the King had with him, he would chearfully ſtake his life on the iſſue." Darius, it is ſaid, heſitated. He felt the truth of Charidemus's obſervations. But his courtiers got the aſcendant over him. They repreſented Charidemus as a dangerous perſon, who had perfidious views. He was weak enough to believe them; and was at laſt prevailed on to have him put to death [19]. Darius, like moſt unfortunate princes of his character, perceived his miſtake when it was no longer to be repaired.

Darius's hiſtory;

Darius was, nevertheleſs, accounted a ſenſible,

[19] Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 2.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

brave, and generous Prince, at the time he aſcended the throne of Perſia; and this was only the fourth year of his reign [20]. His name, before he was King, was Codomannus. He was deſcended originally from a diſtant branch of the royal family, and for ſome years in a very humble ſtation having been reduced to accept of the office of *Iſtanda*, or royal courier. His life was even, for ſome time, in great danger, Ochus, the king then reigning, having put to death the father of Codomannus, with moſt of his family. How Codomannus eſcaped, hiſtorians do not ſay. He afterwards obtained the government of Armenia for his gallant behaviour againſt the Caduſians, with whom Ochus was at war: A champion belonging to the enemy had challenged any Perſian to ſingle combat; and Codomannus engaged and ſlew him. Soon after this, Ochus was taken off by Bagoas, his favorite eunuch; and Arſes, his youngeſt ſon, was placed on the throne. Bagoas having put all his other ſons to death. But Bagoas, who thought to govern the young King, finding himſelf in danger of being diſappointed, cauſed him to be murdered, and advanced Codomannus to the throne, in hopes that the favor which he had conferred on him, would fix him his dependent. Codomannus, nevertheleſs, apprized of his guilt, held him in abhorrence; and judging from his former treaſons what he had to expect, watched him ſo narrowly, that he detected him in the very act of attempting his life by poiſon.

[20] Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Juſt. L. x. c. 3.

and compelled him to ſwallow the potion he had prepared. BOOK I.

But, whatever had been the virtues of Codomannus, or Darius, as we ſhall now call him, in a private ſtation, the corrupted manners of the Perſian court, and the ſeductions of flattery, had ſoon taught him other ſentiments. Hiſtory has even charged him with practices, that ſpeak great baſeneſs of mind. He ſcrupled not to ſuborn traitors againſt Alexander, offering large rewards to the perſon who ſhould kill him; and he had nearly ſucceeded. The aſſaſſin was Alexander, the ſon of Aeropus. He owed his life to this maſter's clemency having lain under the ſuſpicion of being privy to the conſpiracy againſt Philip, for which his two brothers had ſuffered. The King had conferred many favors on him, and had lately appointed him to the command of the Theſſalian horſe, an office of great truſt and dignity. But it would appear, that the offers which Darius had cauſed to be made to him, of ten thouſand talents (near two millions ſterling) and the kingdom of Macedon, had ſeduced him from his allegiance. And the treaſon was on the point of being carried into execution, when it was diſcovered by the ſagacity of Parmenio [21]. Sect. 1. and character. Suborns a traitor to kill Alexander; who is diſcovered.

Whilſt Darius was on his march through Aſſyria, Alexander had advanced into Cilicia as far as Tarſus. Cilicia forms a large plain, extending itſelf from the foot of Mount Taurus to the ſea; on the ſouth, it is waſhed by the Aegean; its other ſides are bounded Alexander advances into Cilicia.

[21] Arrian, L. i. c. 26.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

by mountains, which have three openings or narrow paſſes, named by hiſtorians *The gates of Cilicia.* One paſs, to the north-weſt, opens into Cappadocia; the other, to the eaſt, into Syria; and the third, to the north-eaſt, into Aſſyria, by the ſide of the mountain Amanus, and it is therefore known by the name of the *gate* or *paſs of Amanus.* Alexander had marched through this paſs, which leads from Cappadocia. A ſmall body of men might have interrupted him; and a ſufficient force had been placed there accordingly. But his very name defeated all oppoſition. As ſoon as they heard that Alexander was approaching, they fled. Entering Cilicia, he gave orders to Parmenio to ſeize the paſs on the Syrian ſide, purpoſing to march on with all poſſible expedition in queſt of Darius.

Is dangerously ill at Tarſus.

An accident delayed him at Tarſus. Through this diſtrict runs the river Cydnus, remarkable for its beauty and exceeding coldneſs. Alexander, to whom, as to all the Greeks, it was cuſtomary to throw himſelf, however warm, into whatever river was neareſt, had, immediately upon his arrival, when in a glow of heat, promoted by his march and the ſultry ſeaſon, plunged into the Cydnus, the cold of which ſtruck through him in ſuch a manner, that his life was deſpaired of. The whole army remained in the deepeſt conſternation; and what rendered their ſituation the more alarming, advice had been received, that Darius was approaching.

Philip of Acarnania offers to relieve him;

Among the attendants of Alexander was Philip of Acarnania, a phyſician of eminence. In the general perplexity, he offered to prepare a potion, exceed-

ingly violent in its operation, but from which he had reaſon to expect the moſt ſalutary and ſpeedy effects. Alexander, impatient of confinement, deſired the experiment might inſtantly be made; and already was the medicine prepared, when diſpatches arrived from Parmenio to the King, "not on any account to truſt Philip, for he had ſold himſelf to the Perſians."

is ſuſpected.

Alexander, with magnanimity ſuperior to all praiſe, concealed the pacquet under his pillow; and the potion being brought him, ſwallowed it without emotion, delivering at the ſame time, Parmenio's diſpatch into the hands of Philip, marking his countenance as he read it. The firmneſs and honeſt indignation with which he peruſed it, fully ſatisfied the King; he embraced him, aſſuring him in the warmeſt terms, of the entire confidence he had in his fidelity. Whilſt Philip, with the moſt ardent proteſtations of his unalterable attachment, conjured the King to aſſiſt the operation of the medicine, by keeping up his ſpirits, and baniſhing every gloomy doubt [22].

Magnanimity of Alexander.

The ſtrength of the medicine, notwithſtanding, having overpowered him, he remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs, diſcovering ſcarcely any ſigns of life. But the faithful Philip, who watched every change, ſoon relieved him, and in three days he was enabled to ſhow himſelf to the Macedonians, whoſe diſtreſs did not abate until the King appeared before them.

Recovers.

[22] Arian, L. ii. c. 4. Juſt. L. xi. c. 8. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 6. Plutarch. in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

Confidence of Darius.

Alexander's illneſs had increaſed the confidence of Darius [23]. His courtiers had aſſured him, that the Macedonians would not dare to meet him in battle; and their not appearing, confirmed him in this vain belief. He now looked upon it as certain, that the Greeks were flying; accordingly he prepared to purſue them through Cilicia, and had entered the paſs of Amanus at the ſame time Alexander had ſtruck off by that of Syria, and was thus leaving Darius behind him. When advice of the enemy's motions was brought to Alexander, he would ſcarcely give credit to the report. But finding it ſufficiently authenticated, he began with thanking the Gods, who had confounded the counſels of Darius, and by ſhutting him up in theſe defiles, had delivered him into his hands. He then commanded his troops to march back into Cilicia, and to prepare for battle.

His terror.

Darius had already croſſed the Pinarus, which divides Cilicia, and was encamped near the city of Iſſus. When the Perſians found that Alexander, of whoſe flight they entertained not the leaſt doubt, was advancing againſt them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion. Pent up within narrow defiles, they found themſelves deprived of all the advantages which they expected to derive from their multitudes, and in a manner reduced to fight upon an equality with the enemy. Darius particularly, who ſome hours before was elated with confidence, was now ſtruck with ſuch terror, that he commanded the banks of the river to be fortified with ſtakes, leſt the Greeks ſhould

[23] Arrian, L. ii. c. 7 & ſeq.

break in upon him. This cowardly precaution, Arrian tells us, provoked the ſcorn of the Macedonian ſoldiers; "He has already," ſaid they, "the ſpirit of "a ſlave in him[24]!" But, whatever cauſe Alexander might have to hold the Perſians in contempt, it did not make him negligent of any one of the duties of a general. With conſummate ſkill he extended his front from the foot of the mountain to the ſea; ſo that the Perſians ſhould not have it in their power, by their ſuperiority of Numbers, to ſurround him: ſome of their detached parties had occupied the heights above him; he ſent a body of archers to diſlodge them previous to the engagement: he examined attentively every diſpoſition the enemy had made; and wherever he ſaw their beſt troops placed, he added to the ſtrength of that part of his line which was to oppoſe them. He then rode through the ranks, reminding thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any former exploit, of what achievements they had performed, and calling by name upon every brave ſoldier, to ſupport, on that day, the glory he had already acquired.

Battle of Iſſus.

The command of the left wing, which reached to the ſea, he aſſigned to Parmenio; and began[25] himſelf the attack at the head of the right, directing his men to move up ſlowly, until within a certain diſtance of the enemy; and then to ruſh vigorouſly on, before the Perſians ſhould have time to diſcharge their miſſile weapons. This manœuvre had the deſired

[24] Τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. Arrian, L. ii. c. 10.

[25] Olymp. cxi. 4 Before Christ 333.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

effect. The foremoſt ranks of the enemy finding their arms, in which they were moſt expert, rendered uſeleſs, and preſſed by the violent onſet of the Greeks, who charged them ſword in hand, fell back on the ranks behind them; theſe likewiſe on thoſe next to them, until the confuſion ſpread throughout the whole left wing; the Macedonians ſtill urging on with dreadful execution. Darius, who was only conſpicuous by the height of his ſplendid chariot and the richneſs of his dreſs, ſeeing his left wing broken, and that the ſlaughter began to threaten the ſpot where he was ſtationed, turned from the field of battle, and fled with the foremoſt.

Greek mercenaries.

The Greek mercenaries, who compoſed the main body of the Perſian army, ſtill bravely maintained their ground, though againſt the Macedonian phalanx. But Alexander, after routing the enemy's left wing, having taken them in flank, they were at length worſted with great ſlaughter.

Total diſcomfiture of the Perſians.

On the right wing the Perſians had conſiderably the advantage at the beginning of the engagement, their cavalry on that ſide being much ſtronger than the Greeks, until a ſeaſonable reinforcement of Theſſalian horſe enabled Parmenio to turn the fortune of the day againſt them; when ſeeing the general diſperſion, they conſulted their ſafety by flight.

Alexander purſues them.

The purſuit which Alexander, though wounded in the thigh, continued till the cloſe of day, proved not leſs fatal to the Perſians than the battle, on account of their multitudes, and of the narrow defiles and rugged mountainous paths through which they had to paſs. So that Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus,

who accompanied Alexander on this occaſion, declared, that through the whole way they had trodden on nothing but dead carcaſſes. As for Darius, he remained in his chariot for ſome time; but his fears ſuggeſting to him, that this method was not ſufficiently expeditious, he alighted, and relinquiſhing his royal mantle, mounted on horſe-back, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, hardly ſtopping for refreſhment, until he had got beyond the Euphrates.

Darius eſcapes.

Of the Perſians there fell, according to Arrian, ninety thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. Of the Greeks, if Diodorus may be depended on, only four hundred and fifty. The Perſian camp was taken; in which were found the mother and wife of Darius, with his ſon and two daughters. The greater part of the baggage and treaſure of the enemy had been left at Damaſcus. The plunder, however, was very conſiderable, every part of the camp affording proofs of Aſiatic luxury and opulence. The tent of Darius, eſpecially, the Macedonians beheld with amazement. Its ſpacious apartments were laid out in the moſt elegant manner, adorned with coſtly furniture, and on every ſide were placed vaſes of gold, from whence the richeſt odors iſſued; ſumptuous preparations alſo for bathing and for the royal banquet, awaited Darius's return from the battle; and the officers of the houſehold, ſplendidly attired, attended in their reſpective ſtations.

The Perſian camp, and Darius's family, taken.

Magnificence of Darius's tent.

It was thought proper to reſerve this piece of magnificence for Alexander himſelf. He viewed it with much indifference, and having ſmelled the rich eſſences, turning to his followers, "This then," ſaid

Alexander's opinion of it.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

he, "it was to be a king[26]!" Out of all the precious things he ſelected only a caſket, ornamented with jewels and of curious workmanſhip, in which Darius was wont to keep perfumes. "I uſe no perfumes," ſaid he, "but I will apply it to a nobler purpoſe;" and accordingly uſed it as a caſe for Homer's Iliad, a copy of which, corrected by Ariſtotle and Calliſthenes, he always, carried about with him. Hence is this copy of Homer, which appears to have been in high eſtimation among the ancients, known by the name of *the copy of the caſket*[27].

His noble conduct.

Hiſtorical writers make the moſt honorable mention of the temperate manner in which Alexander enjoyed his victory. To Darius's family he behaved with ſingular magnanimity. He took care, that their perſons, and whatever belonged to them, ſhould be ſaved and ſecured from inſult. The night ſucceeding the battle, hearing of their diſtreſs upon the ſuppoſed death of Darius, whoſe mantle one of the eunuchs had ſeen in the hands of a ſoldier, he immediately ſent Leonnatus to aſſure them, that Darius was living, and that themſelves, though now captives, ſhould enjoy the ſame royal ſtate to which they had been accuſtomed in their higheſt ſplendor. The enſuing day he viſited them in perſon, his friend Hephaeſtion only accompanying him. As they

[26] Dacier and others underſtand Alexander's words, as if ſpoken in admiration of what he ſaw. Dr. Langhorne conſiders them as the words of indignation. And this idea, which ſeems the moſt natural, and gives to the paſſage a peculiar beauty, is accordingly the one here adopted. See Langhorne's Plutarch.

[27] Ἡ ἐκ του καφθηκος. Strab. L. xiii. Plutarch in Alexand.

entered,

entered, Syſigambis, the mother of Darius, fell at Hephaeſtion's feet, ſuppoſing him to be the king; but one of the attendants having informed her of the miſtake, ſhe in great confuſion, turning to Alexander, began to excuſe herſelf. "You are not greatly miſ-"taken, madam," replied he, raiſing her up, with great affection, "for *he* alſo is Alexander."

His generous demeanor to the family of Darius.

From that day, to avoid every injurious ſuſpicion, he laid it down as a law, never to viſit the wife of Darius more; who, it is ſaid, was the moſt beautiful woman of her time. So that, as Plutarch obſerves, ſhe and the reſt of the princeſſes "lived, though in "an enemy's camp, as if they had been in ſome holy "temple unſeen and unapproached, in the moſt "ſacred privacy." Syſigambis particularly, was treated by him with a reſpect and attention not leſs than ſhe could have expected from Darius himſelf. He permitted her to order the funeral honors that ſhould be paid to thoſe of the royal family who had fallen in the action; and often afterwards granted favors at her requeſt, even forgiving, upon her interceſſion, ſome Perſian lords, who had deſervedly incurred his diſpleaſure.

Damaſcus ſurrenders.

The victory of Iſſus was followed by the ſurrender of Damaſcus [22]; the governor, without waiting to be attacked, having delivered up to Parmenio the city, and the treaſures it contained, to a vaſt amount; together with thirty thouſand priſoners, among whom were the wives and daughters of the firſt nobles of Perſia; and, what is worthy of notice,

[22] Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

Grecian embaſſadors found here. Alexander's treatment of them.

embaſſadors, deputed from Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, to Darius, who had taken up their reſidence here, as in a place of ſecurity.

Alexander commanded the embaſſadors to be immediately ſent to him. Two of them, Thebans, he treated with remarkable lenity. "He wondered "not," he ſaid, "that they ſhould be found among "the enemies of Greece, deprived, as they had "been, of their native home, and driven to ſeek "for refuge in a foreign land." From this and other inſtances it is evident, that Alexander repented of his ſeverity to the Theban people, and ſought to remove the unfavorable impreſſions which that rigorous procedure had left on the minds of moſt of the Greeks. Another of the embaſſadors was Iphicrates of Athens, ſon to the illuſtrious general of the name. He forgave him alſo. "He had known," he ſaid, "and honored his father. The reſpect beſides, "that he had for Athens, would not permit him to "ſhow reſentment to her citizen, though employed "in ſo improper a buſineſs." But the fourth Euthycles, the Spartan, he ordered immediately into confinement. "The Spartans were his profeſſed enemies, "and deſerved no favor at his hands." In a little, time however, he releaſed him[29]. The truth is, Alexander was ſenſible, that he was far from enjoying the affections of the ſeveral States of Greece; and was cautious of exaſperating them. He well knew, that it muſt be a matter of much difficulty to make that republican ſpirit, with which they were animated,

[29] Arrian, loc. cit.

ſubmit to the chains to which he had deſtined them. And ſhould he declare his purpoſe at once, and avow himſelf for their lord and maſter, it might be the means of forcing them to unite in defence of their common liberties, and of provoking an oppoſition, with which he was not yet in a condition to contend. We ſhall ſee him aſſume a very different deportment after the final deſtruction of Darius.

Alexander reduces the maritime nations of Syria, &c.

Alexander had now the prize of empire before him, and reſolved to employ his utmoſt vigor in puſhing on the purſuit. He proceeded firſt to reduce the maritime nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and the iſlands adjacent. This was an object to him of conſiderable moment. They were powerful at ſea; he wanted a navy to ſecure and to extend his conqueſts; and by reducing them into ſubjection, he cut off from Darius many important reſources he derived from them. The ſucceſs correſponded to his expectations. Byblus, Marathus, the prince of Aradus on the Phœnician coaſt; and, of more moment ſtill, the people of Sidon, revolted to him. The Sidonians particularly hated the Perſian yoke; they had ſuffered much oppreſſion in the days of Ochus; and hailed Alexander as their deliverer.

The Tyrians refuſe to admit Alexander.

The Tyrians alſo made a ſhow[30] of ſubmitting, and preſented him with a golden crown. But he found they meant[31] to preſerve their independence.

[30] The King of Tyre, Azelmicus, was at this very time on board the Perſian fleet with Autophradates, one of Darius's admirals. Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

[31] Arrian, L. ii. c. 17 & ſeq. Plutarch in Alex. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 2. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 4.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

Confiding in their ſituation and naval ſtrength they thought they had little to fear, and refuſed to admit any Macedonians within their walls, whilſt the fate of the Perſian empire was yet in ſuſpenſe. Alexander, on the contrary, was determined, that the proudeſt power of Aſia ſhould not defy him with impunity.

Strength of Tyre.

To reduce Tyre was nevertheleſs, a work of difficulty. It was ſeated on an iſland at the diſtance of four furlongs from the Phœnician ſhore; it was ſurrounded with walls, remarkable for their height and ſolidity; and the ſea, where it waſhed the foot of theſe walls, was of the depth of three fathoms. The Tyrians beſides were ſtrong in men, hardy, experienced, well-appointed; they were the boldeſt mariners then known, and poſſeſſed immenſe wealth from the extenſive commerce they had long enjoyed; from their numerous fleets, they had means both of annoying at pleaſure the enemies that ſhould attack them, and of receiving conſtant ſupplies of whatever was neceſſary for their defence: And they had a right to expect powerful ſuccours from their ſeveral colonies.

Siege of Tyre.

Alexander was not to be intimidated. He began by running a mole from the continent to Tyre, in order to have firm ground on which to raiſe machines and carry on his works. Laborious as the undertaking was, the ſoldiers, inſpired by the preſence and example of their Sovereign, thought no fatigue too ſevere; earth, timber, and every neceſſary material, were collected in abundance; and the mole ſoon appeared above the ſurface of the ſea. Whilſt the Macedonians wrought near the ſhore, they met with no obſtruction; but as

they approached towards Tyre, they found themſelves ſo much expoſed to attacks from the enemy, and ſo ſharply galled by the ſtones and miſſile weapons, which their engines diſcharged againſt them, that Alexander was obliged to raiſe wooden towers to protect his work, and to cover the workmen. The Tyrians, on their part, loſt no time. They prepared a ſhip filled with combuſtible ſtores, and towing her to the place where the towers were reared, ſet them on fire with the other machines which the Macedonians had conſtructed, whilſt armed men from the city, in ſmall boats, attacked the mole on every ſide, and laid it in ruins.

Alexander ſummons the maritime powers to his aſſiſtance.

Baffled in this attempt, Alexander found it neceſſary to alter his plan. He determined to give his mole more breadth, that, by having it in his power to raiſe a greater number of towers on it, he might provide the more effectually for its defence. Obſerving, that without a ſufficient naval force it muſt be impoſſible to keep the Tyrian fleet in awe, he ſummoned the ſeveral maritime powers which had lately ſubmitted, to furniſh him with ſhips. They obeyed. Even Cyprus joined him. That iſland had hitherto followed the fortunes of Darius; but, deterred by the ſucceſs of the Macedonian arms, declared now for Alexander. The Tyrians, who had been preparing for a naval engagement, were aſtoniſhed to behold the ſea covered with the veſſels of the enemy, and retired within their ports.

Obſtinate defence of Tyre.

The Macedonians, thus reinforced, completed their mole, and urged on the ſiege with great activity. But the more vigor they exhibited, the more ſpirited

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

was the defence which the Tyrians made, as if reſolved to preſerve their liberties or periſh. A continual diſcharge of deſtructive and deadly weapons poured from every part of their walls upon the ſhips or men that dared to approach them. And whatever inſtruments of offence the enemy invented, the Tyrians ſtraitway contrived others to diſappoint their effect. The Greeks had conſtructed towers of wood equal in height to the battlements of the city, which they moved cloſe to the walls; ſo as to fight the beſieged hand to hand, and ſometimes, by throwing ſpontoons acroſs, paſſed on to the very battlements. The Tyrians prepared hooks and grappling-irons, with which they caught hold of the ſoldiers that appeared on theſe towers, and dragged them off. Thoſe, who attempted ſcaling-ladders, had poured on them veſſels of ſcalding ſand, which penetrated to the bone. Againſt whatever place the battering engines were directed, green hides or coverlets of wool were inſtantly ſpread, to render ineffectual the blow. And if in any part of the walls an opening was made, a number of combatants immediately ruſhed forward to guard the breach.

The aids of ſuperſtition employed to encourage the Macedonians.

The ſiege had now continued ſeven months. And it is likely the Macedonians began to be tired out; if we may judge from the extraordinary artifices, which it appears were made uſe of to raiſe their drooping ſpirits. One while, an account had been received, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had faſtened him to his pedeſtal with golden chains, to prevent his elopement. At another, it was ſaid, that Hercules had appeared to Alexander,

and invited him to pass into Tyre. And again, the King dreamed, that a Satyr [32] was playing before him, and as he endeavoured to lay hold of him, eluded his grasp; but that at last, won by his solicitations, he surrendered to him. The Augurs, in whom the Macedonian army had been taught to place implicit faith, and who were, therefore, Alexander's general resource in his difficulties, affirmed, that these were all notices from Heaven, that Tyre was on the point of falling into his hands.

A general assault.

It was thought advisable to take advantage of the confidence which these assurances produced in the minds of the soldiery. Large breaches had been made in the walls And it was natural to suppose, that the long fatigue, and many sharp engagements, which the Tyrians had sustained, must have diminished their numbers considerably. Alexander accordingly determined to make another effort, and gave orders for a general assault by sea and land; the Macedonians to penetrate the breaches, and the fleet at the same time to attempt the different ports, of which Tyre had two, the one opening towards Egypt, the other towards Sidon.

[32] One can hardly forbear smiling at the paltry equivoque, with which we are told the Augurs satisfied their employers on this occasion. The Greek word Σάτυρος, *a Satyr*, may be divided into two syllables, Σὰ τύρος, *Tyre is thine*. "'Tis the very "interpretation of the King's dream;" pronounced the Augurs. "The appearing of the Satyr says, *that the gods have delivered "Tyre into thy hands.*" Plutarch (in Alexandr.) relates this solution as a notable piece of ingenuity. Probably, both the dream and the interpretation were the contrivance of the Augurs themselves.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

Tyre taken.

It is difficult to ſay which deſerves moſt the warrior's praiſe, the ſkill exhibited in planning the ſeveral attacks, or the ſpirit with which they were executed; and the Tyrians, notwithſtanding a reſiſtance to which they ſeem to have been animated by deſpair, were at laſt overpowered on every ſide [33]. The gallant defence of the beſieged had exaſperated Alexander. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms, ſhould be put to the ſword, and the reſt of the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves [34], thoſe excepted who had taken refuge in the temple of Hercules, the patron-god of Tyre; in gratitude, doubtleſs, for the viſion with which he wiſhed to have it believed the god had honored him. The Sidonians, however, in compaſſion to their kindred city (for Tyre was originally a Sidonian colony, and is therefore called by the prophet *the daughter of Sidon* [35]) ſecreted a number of

Cruel treatment of the Tyrians.

[33] OLYMP. cxii. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 332.

[34] There was the *Old Tyre* and the *New*. The old Tyre, known by the name of Palætyrus, was ſituate on the continent of Phœnicia, and by means of its extenſive trade, roſe to ſuch power, that it held out a ſiege of five years againſt Salmaneſer, king of Aſſyria, who was at laſt obliged to raiſe it. It was again beſieged by Nebuchadnezzar, who took it, after a ſiege of thirteen years, and overthrew it. Upon which, the Tyrians built them a new city, that which we now treat of, on an iſland oppoſite to old Tyre.

Commentators are not agreed, whether the propheſies of Iſaiah xxiii. and of Ezekiel xxvi. and xxvii. relate to the calamities they ſuffered from Salmaneſer and Nebuchadnezzar, or to thoſe which Alexander brought on them. Grotius ſupports the former opinion. Prideaux the latter. Biſhop Newton (Diſſertat. xi.) thinks that theſe propheſies relate both to the one and to the other.

[35] Iſaiah, xxiii. 12.

the inhabitants, to the amount of fifteen thouſand, and carried them off in their ſhips. By theſe, Tyre was afterwards raiſed from her ruins[36]. Some hiſtorians have recorded, that Alexander's cruelty went beyond what we have related, and that he crucified two thouſand of this unhappy people. If ſo, Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs Arrian compiled his hiſtory, choſe to paſs this action over in ſilence; for there is no mention of it in Arrian. Probably they were aſhamed of ſuch horrid barbarity[37].

Darius applies to Alexander.

Darius found, that Alexander was becoming every day more formidable, and ſought to engage him to an accommodation. He had applied to him ſoon after the battle of Iſſus; but the manner was ſuch, that Alexander thought himſelf rather inſulted by it. He ſummoned him, "to behave to the Princeſſes he held captive, as it became a King to behave to a King, and to deliver them up immediately to Darius."—He reproached him with "having undertaken the preſent war, unprovoked by any wrongs; whereas Darius had armed in defence of his hereditary realms;—adding, that "he nevertheleſs offered Alexander his friendſhip, and was ready to accept of his, whenever it was properly tendered."

Alexander's anſwer.

Alexander replied, by "enumerating all the

[36] Tyre ſoon recovered; for in about nineteen years after, it was able to withſtand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and to ſuſtain a ſiege of fifteen months before it was taken. It owed this wonderful increaſe of ſtrength to its commerce, and chiefly to its purple-trade; the purple ſhell-fiſh being found on this coaſt in great abundance.—See Strabo. Caſaub. L. vi. p. 521.

[37] See Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 4.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

grievances, real or imputed, which Greece had at any period of time ſuffered from the Perſian Kings, demanding reparation at the hands of Darius for them all;—that, if he had any boon to aſk of Alexander, he ſhould come in perſon, and ſolicit it;—that if he entertained any doubt, there ſhould be given ſufficient hoſtages for his ſecurity; and his wife and children ſhould no longer be withheld from him;—he concluded with "requiring, that, ſhould he henceforth write to him, to remember he was writing, not to his equal, but to the lord of Aſia and of Darius; that, if he was unwilling to admit the claim, Alexander was ready to ſupport it by force of arms."

Darius applies again,

Darius now uſed an humbler ſtyle [18]. He offered him "his daughter in marriage; a ranſom of ten thouſand talents for the reſt of the Princeſſes; and the ceſſion of all the provinces of Aſia, from the Helleſpont to the Euphrates." Parmenio, we are told, adviſed Alexander to accept of theſe terms: "*I* "would," added he, "were I Alexander"—"And ſo "would I," replied Alexander, "were *I* Parmenio."

without ſucceſs.

"Alexander anſwered Darius, "That he ſtood not in want of any treaſures Darius had to give; that the provinces which he propoſed to cede, were no longer his to offer; that nothing leſs could now be accepted of, than the ceſſion of the whole empire. With reſpect to marrying his daughter, Alexander, regardleſs of the conſent of Darius, would conſult only his own inclination; and that the laſt reſource of the Perſian King was, to ſurrender himſelf to Alexander, and make trial of his clemency."

[18] Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

Alexander advances towards Jeruſalem, with hoſtile purpoſes;

is pacified at the ſight of the high-prieſt;

why.

From Tyre [39] Alexander directed his march towards Jeruſalem. The Jews had offended him. Under pretence of fealty to Darius, they had excuſed themſelves from furniſhing him with proviſions during the late ſiege, and at the ſame time had ſent ſupplies to the Tyrians. When they heard, that Alexander was approaching, Jaddua, the high-prieſt, inſtructed by a heavenly viſion, arrayed himſelf in the ſacerdotal veſtments; and, together with the other prieſts in their ſacred habits, and the reſt of the people clothed in white, went forth to meet Alexander. The Macedonians beheld them, in earneſt expectation of what would follow; they knew the King to be violent in his reſentments; and imagined this humiliation would avail little. When, all at once, Alexander ſtepping forth, proſtrated himſelf before Jaddua. Parmenio, amazed, would have ſtopped him. "What!" ſaid he, "ſhall you, "whom all hold in veneration, proſtrate yourſelf "before a man!" — "Not before a man," replied the King, "but before the God whoſe miniſter he "is. When at Dium in Macedonia, the ſame "venerable perſonage whom I now ſee, appeared

[39] Joſephus, in whoſe writings the account of the high-prieſt Jaddua is found, ſuppoſes, that Alexander did not ſet out for Jeruſalem till after the taking of Gaza; but Euſebius, in his Chronicon, ſays, he went thither from Tyre. Archbiſhop Uſher (conſult Uſſerii Annal. p. 301.) is of the ſame opinion. And this is entirely conſonant with what Arrian expreſsly ſays, that, before he ſet out for Gaza, on his way to Egypt, he had brought into ſubjection all Paleſtine; ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη. Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

" to me, and commanded me to paſs into Aſia, " promiſing, that the God whom he ſerved ſhould " be my conductor [40]."

Shows favor to the Jews;

Embracing then the high-prieſt, he held on his way towards Jeruſalem, where he ſpent ſome days, ſhowing himſelf exceedingly gracious to the Jewiſh nation, and granting them a confirmation of their ſeveral privileges; particularly, of their exemption from all tribute on every ſeventh year, or year of the Sabbath, on which, according to their law, they were neither to ſow nor reap.

Sees the prophecies of Daniel.

Joſephus [41], from whom we have taken this account, tells us, that the Macedonian ſaw at Jeruſalem the prophecies of Daniel [42], in which was foretold, " the overthrow of the Perſian empire, by " a Prince of Greece;" which the high-prieſt took care to explain to him [43].

[40] See the authenticity of this whole account fully vindicated in Biſhop Newton's Diſſertations on the Prophecies. Diſſert. xv.

[41] Conſult Joſephi Antiq. L. ii. c. 8. Sect. v. p. 504. Edit. Hudſ.

[42] Dan. viii. 7. 20, 21.

[43] It may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that Alexander, after having had ſuch convincing proof of the power of the True God, ſhould have continued an idolater, and eſpecially have purſued his viſionary plan of having himſelf acknowledged for the ſon of Hammon. But, in the firſt place, *the incompatibility of the worſhip of the True God with that of the gods of the nations*, was a doctrine which few of the Pagans could be brought to apprehend rightly, and from which even the better-informed nations of Iſrael and Judah were but too apt to depart, debaſing often the worſhip of the Almighty with the mixture of heatheniſh rites. And, in the ſecond place, Alexander's real motive for claiming divine honors, was not any idolatrous principle (for it was an

The Samaritans, whoſe jealouſy and hatred of the Jewiſh people are well known, and who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of Alexander, applied for the ſame favors as the Jews had received; but he declined liſtening to the requeſt, excuſing himſelf for want of leiſure, on account of Egyptian affairs, which occupied his attention.

His treatment of the Samaritans.

On the road to Egypt, at the entrance of the deſert that divides it from Phœnicia, ſtood Gaza, a city ſtrong and well garriſoned, of which Batis was governor. The cowardice or infidelity of other Perſian governors were no examples to him. He defended the city againſt the whole Macedonian army for the ſpace of two months; and when at laſt it was taken by ſtorm, he and his men continued fighting to the laſt gaſp of life, not a man ſurviving[44]. Alexander, however, provoked partly by this obſtinate defence, and partly by ſome ſlight wound

Takes Gaza by ſtorm.

impions violation of the very religion of his own country) but merely the luſt of conqueſt, which in him was ſo ſtrong, as to abſorb all other conſiderations. It was not poſſible he ſhould ever have brought himſelf to believe ſincerely, that he was a god. But it is very poſſible he might wiſh, that others ſhould believe him one; becauſe ſuch a belief was an uſeful inſtrument for the eſtabliſhing of that empire which he had in view.

[44] Quintus Curtius (iv. 6.) in expreſs contradiction to Arrian, tells us, that Batis (Betis, he calls him) was yet alive when taken, though grievouſly wounded; and that Alexander, after loading him with reproaches for the gallant defence he had made, faſtened him to his chariot by cords paſſed through his feet, and, in imitation of what Achilles is ſaid to have done to the dead body of Hector, dragged him, while life yet remained, round the walls of Gaza. Probably this is fabulous.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

he had received in the courſe of the ſiege, wreaked his vengeance on the women and children, all of whom he condemned to ſlavery.

Egypt ſubmits.

Egypt was ſoon reduced. Even before Alexander's arrival, the Perſians were held in abhorrence there, on account of their late oppreſſions and profane treatment of the Egyptian gods, in the reign of Ochus [45]. Alexander cultivated theſe favorable diſpoſitions; he ſhowed particular attention to the proſperity of the country; and laid the foundation of a great city, to be called after his own name, the ſituation of which, he ſaid, had been pointed out to him by Homer [46], and which proved the principal ſource of that immenſe opulence, of which the Egyptians became poſſeſſed in ſucceeding ages.

[45] He had profaned the moſt revered rites of their national religion, and had even ſlain their god Apis. See Biſh. Lowth on Iſaiah xix. 1.

[46] According to Plutarch, a perſonage of venerable aſpect appeared to him (ſo at leaſt reported the voice of Flattery) and repeated the following lines (Odyſſ. iv.)

Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἐστὶ πουκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου πρόπαρθε (Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσι.)

High o'er a gulphy ſea, the Pharian iſle
Fronts the deep roar of diſemboguing Nile.—POPE.

The difficulty is, in the lines that follow, Homer places the Pharos at the diſtance of a day's ſail from the continent; and, on the contrary, it is generally allowed that the Pharos is only ſeven ſtadia, ſcarcely a mile, diſtant from Alexandria. To reconcile the matter, Mr. Pope would ſuppoſe, that the Poet meant to ſpecify the Peluſian mouth of the Nile, from which the Pharos ſtands a day's ſail.

His next achievement was of a different kind. In the depths of Lybia was ſituated the oracular temple of Jupiter Hammon. What was the origin of this ſuperſtition, is an inquiry foreign to the preſent purpoſe. It is ſufficient to notice, that the antiquity of the eſtabliſhment, which ſeems to have had its beginning in very remote and ignorant ages, together with the ſituation of the place, where the prieſts were ſecured from obſervation and control, and where every circumſtance promoted the amazement and reverence of thoſe votaries who reſorted thither to worſhip, naturally contributed to the propagating of the many ſtrange fictions concerning it which hiſtory has recorded.

Temple of Jupiter Hammon.

Alexander formed the plan of rendering theſe fictions ſubſervient to his views. The way to the oracle lay [47] through a vaſt deſert, inhoſpitable and pathleſs; where the intenſe heat of the climate was rendered tenfold more violent by burning ſands, the only footing the traveller had; and where none but perſons well acquainted with the dreary wild, could find out the line by which they were to march: From the entrance of the deſert to the temple, it was two hundred and thirty miles. Through this deſert Alexander undertook to march his army. The very attempt had in it ſomewhat of prodigy. To give it more ſtrongly this appearance, he with great art concealed from his men, that he had employed any guides to conduct him; in order to diſpoſe them the better to believe that his inſtructions came from

Alexander reſolves to viſit it; for what purpoſe.

The artifice employed

[47] Arrian, L. iii. c. 3, 4. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 7.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

heaven, and that the gods themſelves appointed ſupernatural guides; "two dragons," according to Ptolemy, "two ravens," according to Ariſtobulus [48]; the difference between whoſe accounts may be conſidered as a proof, that Alexander kept the matter even from thoſe in whom he confided moſt on other occaſions. Probably his truſty Augurs were the only perſons in the ſecret.

In conſulting the oracle.

Before he reached the temple, he had in like manner prepared every thing for his reception. The prieſts had received their leſſons; and the oracle pronounced what Alexander wiſhed it ſhould. Moſt hiſtorians [49] agree, that the miniſter of Hammon ſaluted him as the ſon of the god; that when he inquired, whether any of the murderers of his father had eſcaped, the oracle replied, that *his* father was not mortal, but that the death of Philip was fully avenged. Upon his inquiring again, whether he was deſtined to conquer the world, the anſwer was, that Jupiter granted him that glory. Arrian omits theſe particular reſponſes, and tells us in general, that Alexander declared, "the god had left him "nothing more to deſire [50]." Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus were perhaps unwilling to diſgrace themſelves, by recording what they knew to be impious forgeries. It certainly appears, that from this period, Alexander began to diſcover to what a chimerical height his

[48] A flock of crows, ſays Plutarch (in Alexand.)

[49] Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. ubi ſup.

[50] Ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν. Arrian, L. iii. c. 4.

ambitious

ambitious thoughts were ſoaring. With the Greeks, however, for ſome time at leaſt, he uſed more caution, not daring to expoſe his favorite claim to divine honors to the ſeverity of their ridicule.

Statira dies.

Whilſt Alexander was thus employed, Statira, wife to Darius, died. His demeanor towards her had been always noble. He paid her memory every honor in his power; expreſſed the deepeſt concern at her death, and commanded, that her obſequies ſhould be ſolemnized with as much magnificence as they could have been, had ſhe died in full poſſeſſion of royal ſplendor.

The tidings are brought to Darius.

Tireus [52], one of Statira's eunuchs, upon her death made his eſcape from the camp, and brought Darius the account. The King, who loved her tenderly, broke out into the moſt paſſionate lamentations, bewailing her loſs, that ſhe ſhould have ended her days in ſuch an abject ſtate oppreſſed with the miſeries of captivity, and that after death ſhe was likely to be deprived of thoſe honors, which ſhould have graced her obſequies. "Lament not for theſe "things, O King!" ſaid the eunuch; "for neither "did Statira, while ſhe lived, nor do any of the "royal captives, feel the leaſt diminution of their "former fortune, except it be the having loſt the "light of thy countenance, which the great "Oromaſdes will again cauſe to ſhine upon them: "and, far from being deprived of her due obſequies, "Statira was honored with the tears of her very

[52] Plut. in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 10. Arrian, L. iv. c. 20.

BOOK I. Sect. I.

" enemies; for, terrible as Alexander is in battle, " he is equally mild in uſing his victories."

His ſuſpicions;

The eunuch's words excited the darkeſt ſuſpicions in the mind of Darius. "Tell me then," ſaid he, taking the eunuch aſide, "if thou haſt not yet " revolted to the Macedonians, as the fortune of " Perſia has; tell me, as thou revereſt the light of " Mithra, and this right hand of thy King, is not " the death of Statira the leaſt of what I have to " lament? and, amidſt all our calamities, had not " our diſgrace been leſs, if we had met with a " more ſavage foe? For, what but the tendereſt " engagement could induce a young Prince thus to " honor the wife of his enemy!"

removed.

Tireus, humbling his face to the earth, entreated Darius not to harbour a thought ſo unworthy of himſelf, ſo injurious to Alexander, and ſo diſreſpectful to the memory of his excellent Queen; nor to deprive himſelf of that reflection, which muſt adminiſter the higheſt conſolation to him, that Alexander, whoſe ſuperiority in arms he had felt, was ſuperior alſo to human nature; aſſuring him with the moſt ſolemn oaths, that Alexander was even more to be admired for the propriety of his behaviour to the captive Princeſſes, than for the valor he exerted againſt Darius.

Darius's admiration of Alexander.

Darius, lifting up his eyes to heaven, is ſaid to have thus expreſſed himſelf: "Ye gods, the " guardians of our births, and who watch over the " fortunes of kingdoms, grant me to re-eſtabliſh the " State of Perſia, and to leave it proſperous as I " found it, that, bleſſed with victory, I may have

" it in my power to return to Alexander the kind-
" neſſes which my deareſt pledges have experienced
" from him. But if the fated term of this Empire is
" now come, and the glory of the Perſians muſt have
" an end, may none but Alexander ſit on the throne
" of Cyrus!"

When we meet with theſe ſentiments, we can ſcarcely forbear wiſhing, that the prince capable of having uttered them, had never known the baneful influence of abſolute power.

Some hiſtorians tell us, that upon this event the Perſian King ſent a third embaſſy to Alexander, with much larger offers than before. But neither Arrian nor Plutarch make mention of that particular.

Darius prepares again for battle.

Darius, who ſaw no other deciſion than that of arms was to be expected, and ſtill poſſeſſing the fond notion, that the ſtrength of an army conſiſted in its numbers, ſent to levy forces through all his provinces. There aſſembled, accordingly, a prodigious multitude; a million of foot, ſays Arrian, and forty thouſand horſe, with ſome elephants, and two hundred armed chariots. And as the ſucceſſor of Cyrus had been encouraged to believe, that the defeat at Iſſus was altogether owing to his having been ſhut up within narrow defiles, where he could not avail himſelf of his ſuperiority, he now choſe for his ground a plain of great extent, near the village of Gaugamela [52] in Aturia, a province of Aſſyria; having

[52] The name ſignifies *the houſe* or *body of the camel*; ſo called, becauſe Darius Hyſtaſpis appointed this diſtrict for the maintenance of the camel, to which he owed his preſervation in his flight out of Scythia. Strab. xvi. Plut. in Alex.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

given directions, that every hillock ſhould be levelled, for his army and chariots to have room to act without interruption.

Formidable appearance of the Perſian army.

Alexander was on his march through the Upper Aſia [53], and had paſſed the Tigris in ſearch of Darius when advice was brought him, that the Perſians were near. At ſight of them, the Greeks, accuſtomed as they had been to engage with numerous armies, were in ſome degree aſtoniſhed. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be ſeen but arms, military enſigns, chariots, and all the parade of war. And from every part of the plain below, aroſe a deep murmur, hoarſe as the ſurges of a tempeſtuous ſea. Alexander had advanced in order of battle. He thought it nevertheleſs adviſable to encamp, and to poſtpone the engagement till the enſuing morning, that his men might have an opportunity of viewing the enemy at leiſure, and of recovering from the impreſſion which, it appeared, the ſight had at firſt made on them. The remainder of the day, beſides performing [54] the

[53] Arrian. L. iii. c. 7 & ſeq. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Curt. L. iv. c. 12 & ſeq.

[54] Plutarch ſays, that after the Macedonian army were gone to repoſe, Alexander, attended by Ariſtander the Augur only, went through certain private rites, and performed a ſacrifice φοίβῳ to Apollo, as it ſtands in the printed text; but Amyot, as Xylander informs us, inſtead of φοίβῳ, found in ſeveral manuſcripts φόβῳ to fear. If this is the true reading, as there is reaſon to believe it is, it ſhows what Alexander himſelf thought of the conſternation of his army, and what induced Parmenio to give the advice, which we find he afterwards gave.

See Plut. Xylandri in Alex.

proper ſacrifices [11], he employed with Parmenio in reconnoitring the ſituation of the oppoſite army, and in examining the ground on which the battle was to be fought.

When he had retired to his tent Parmenio came to him again, and counſelled him to take advantage of the night to attack the enemy. Parmenio himſelf was doubtful of the event, and thought the boldeſt heart muſt be appalled at encountering ſuch a hoſt of foes in open day. "No, Parmenio," replied Alexander, "I will not *ſteal* a victory." This ſpirited anſwer, hiſtorians obſerve, though in appearance that of a young man, was the reſult of cool and judicious thought. The enemy, he reflected, might be apprehenſive of ſuch a deſign, and therefore on their guard againſt it; many diſaſters might befal his own men in the dark; they might miſtake friends for foes; they might loſe each other amidſt ſuch a confuſed multitude, and be overpowered; the enemy could not have before their eyes the bold onſet and dreadful execution of his troops; and therefore the darkneſs would be void of terror, which would otherwiſe operate on them with full force: the Macedonians, beſides, were ignorant of the country; and, if ſuc-

Parmenio's advice.

Alexander's anſwer:

wiſdom of it.

[11] It was perhaps on this occaſion, that Alexander employed the artifice mentioned by Frontinus (L. 1. c. 11.) by means of ſome medicated liquor, he inſcribed the hand of the Aruſpex with certain characters, inverted, importing a promiſe of victory, which being laid on the warm liver of the victim, left there a legible impreſſion. The miracle was immediately communicated to the army with great ſucceſs.—See alſo Polyaeni Stratagem. L. iv. c. 3.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

ceſsful, could not purſue the enemy; if unſucceſsful, they could not eſcape.

It appeared afterwards[16], that Alexander had conjectured rightly. The Perſians, apprehenſive of a ſurpriſe, had remained under arms until morning, which very circumſtance was of conſiderable detriment to them. Waſted with fatigue, and ſubdued by repeated alarms in the night, they were leſs able to execute the buſineſs of the enſuing day; whereas the Macedonians, to whoſe refreſhment Alexander had paid particular attention, approached in full vigor of mind and body.

Battle of Gaugamela.

A minute detail of this battle[17] belongs rather to the military ſcience. It will be ſufficient to mention the more remarkable incidents.

Darius's plan

Darius's deſign was, to incloſe the Greeks by his ſuperiority of numbers; and by means of his armed chariots, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx, in which Alexander's principal ſtrength was ſuppoſed to conſiſt.

Alexander's judicious arrangements,

Alexander was aware of this intention. He placed, therefore a number of ſlingers and bowmen in the front of his line, with order, that as the chariots moved towards them, they ſhould, by frightening the horſes, and plying them with ſtones and darts, endeavour to drive them back on the enemy. If this failed, they were to aim at diſabling the horſes, or to kill the drivers, in order to get poſſeſſion of the chariots; but in caſe any of them ſtill eſcaped, and

[16] Arrian. L. iii. c. 10, 11.

[17] OLYMP. cxii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 331.

reached the phalanx, then the Macedonians were to open to right and left, and permit them to paſs to the rear, where there was a corps of reſerve appointed to take care of them.

He had alſo diſpoſed a number of detached parties, whoſe inſtructions were, to obſerve the enemy's flying ſquadrons, and prevent their taking him in flank.

If the Perſians ſhould carry their point, and incloſe him, in that caſe the extreme ranks, flank and rear, were to face about inſtantly, to front the enemy on every ſide.

attended with ſucceſs.

His orders were punctually executed. The chariots bore down on the Macedonians, and they were ſoon rendered uſeleſs. Repeated attempts were made to take him in flank without effect. Whilſt Alexander, at the head of the right wing, after having broken the left wing of the enemy, though compoſed of the Scythian horſe, by far the beſt corps Darius had, turned directly on the main body of the Perſian army; and drawing up his men in the form of a wedge[58], upon a ſmall front, ſupported by a great depth, opened to himſelf a way into the midſt of them, puſhing on to the centre, with loud ſhoutings and great ſlaughter; probably with a view of taking the King priſoner, who, according to the Perſian cuſtom, had his ſtation there, and was, as uſual, eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his magnificent dreſs and ſtately chariot.

[58] Ὥσπερ ἔμβολον. Arrian Gronov. L. iii. c. xiv. p. 124.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

Flight of Darius.

Darius had hitherto preserved [59] some appearance of firmness; but as soon as he saw this torrent of war rushing towards him, his strength of mind forsook him, and he betook himself to flight; which completed the defeat of his army in this part, every man following the King's example.

Alexander pursues, but is recalled by Parmenio.

Alexander immediately pursued, and had probably soon come up with Darius, if a courier from his left wing had not brought him back to the field of battle. This wing, of which Parmenio had the command, had been sorely pressed by the enemy, and was giving way. Alexander flew to his general's assistance; but that movement was unnecessary; the dispute was already decided, and a total discomfiture of the Persians had taken place.

Renews the pursuit in vain.

Intent on overtaking Darius, as soon as he saw the victory secure, he allowed his men but a few hours repose, and set off again at midnight, continuing the pursuit as far as Arbela [60], upward of seventy miles

[59] According to Diodorus, Darius for some time showed both conduct and valor; but his charioteer having been slain, and a report prevailing, that the King himself had fallen, the Persians fled, and Darius was obliged to follow their example.

[60] Gaugamela being only an inconsiderable village, and Arbela a place of some note, historians have thought proper to name the battle from the latter, though fought at such a distance from it. Arrian (vi. 11.) ridicules this affectation. "As well," says he, "might they call the battle of Salamis the battle of "the Corinthian Isthmus."

Archbishop Usher (Annal 312.) thinks, that the distance could not be more than about thirteen or fourteen miles, somewhat beyond a hundred stadia. Arrian, who seems to have been well informed, and with whom the several ancient writers agree, affirms expressly, that the distance was not less than from five to six hundred furlongs.

from the field of battle; but was at length obliged to desist, Darius having outstripped him.

Sect. 1.

By the best accounts, the Macedonians had only forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, not a twentieth of the enemy. But on the one side, were a tumultuary multitude, on the other, was experience, and discipline, and valor.

The Macedonians inferior in numbers.

Alexander himself certainly deserves great praise, not merely for his personal courage, in which he seems generally to have exceeded, but for his discernment and judicious precautions before the engagement began; and especially for that admirable presence of mind, the natural companion of intrepidity, which he appears to have preserved through the whole action. His answer to Parmenio deserves particularly to be remembered: during the heat of the battle, when apprized by Parmenio, that the enemy had fallen on the camp, and were pillaging it. "Bid him "not mind them," replied Alexander, "let us make "sure of victory; the pillage will of course be ours."

Alexander's discernment and intrepidity.

What the loss was on either side, ancient writers are not agreed. Arrian relates, that of the Persians there fell three hundred thousand, and the number of prisoners was greater. Whereas Alexander, he says, lost only a hundred men and a thousand horses; most of the latter being destroyed in pursuing the enemy. But this account seems to be incredible.

The loss on the side of the Persians, and on that of the Macedonians.

BOOK I.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Surrender of Babylon: of Suſa; of Perſepolis; and of Paſargadae with their treaſures—The effects of this rich plunder—Darius treated perfidiouſly by Beſſus; and murdered by the aſſociates of that traitor—Change in the manners of Alexander—He puts to death Philotas; and Parmenio—Kills Clitus—Feels compunction—Is corrupted by flatterers—Seeks to obtain divine honors—Is oppoſed by Calliſthenes—Reſents it—Calliſthenes charged with encouraging a conſpiracy againſt Alexander—Is put to death—Alexander finds it neceſſary to divert the attention of his army to other ſcenes—Reduces ſeveral of the Indian tribes—Is oppoſed by Porus—Defeats him—Spreads devaſtation to the Hyphaſis—Propoſes to paſs on to the Ganges—And to conquer the whole world—His ſoldiers refuſe to proceed—He is highly diſpleaſed—Obliged to yield to their wiſhes—His vanity.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

Conſequences of the defeat of Darius.

THE victory of Gaugamela put an end to the empire of Darius. The ſeveral nations of Aſia [1], who had hitherto followed his fortunes, now conſidered him as a loſt Prince, to whom allegiance was no longer due; and moſt of them prepared to pay their homage to the conqueror. Among other perſons of diſtinction, Mazaeus, a Perſian ſatrap of high rank,

[1] Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 1. Arrian L. iii. c. 16. & ſeq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 7.

who, by his gallant behaviour in the late battle, had nearly wreſted the victory from Parmenio, made his ſubmiſſion, inviting the King to Babylon, of which he was governor. The peaceable ſurrender of ſuch a city, the capital of Aſſyria, the ſiege of which might have retarded the progreſs of his arms conſiderably, and whoſe example promiſed to be of extenſive influence, could not but be exceedingly flattering to Alexander. He made his entrance into it, in all the magnificence of triumphal pomp, attended by the magi and great men of Babylon, amidſt loud acclamations of joy from the inhabitants, who had long borne impatiently the Perſian yoke. He ſpent ſome days among his new ſubjects, to whom he made himſelf highly acceptable, by commanding, that their temples ſhould be rebuilt; particularly that of Belus, which Xerxes had laid in ruins.

Surrender of Babylon.

He then paſſed on to Suſa, which in like manner opened its gates to him. And from Suſa he advanced towards Perſepolis. The way into Perſia lay through narrow ſtreights, formed by the mountains that encompaſs it. The Uxii, a nation of mountaineers, who had preſerved their independence even under the Perſian monarchs, had poſſeſſed themſelves of one of theſe defiles. The Macedonian ſoon diſlodged them, and would have put every man to the ſword, had not Syſigambis interceded in their favor. At her interceſſion, Alexander contented himſelf with impoſing on them an annual tribute of cattle, all the wealth known among them. At the paſs called *the gates of Perſia*, Ariobarzanes, with a conſiderable force, had intrenched himſelf. But this difficulty

of Suſa.

Alexander defeats the Uxii.

Forces the gates of Perſia.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

the ſon of Philip alſo ſurmounted, and, without further oppoſition, reached Perſepolis.

Enters Perſepolis.

Some hiſtorians [2] tell us of Alexander's being met here by certain Greeks, whom the Perſians, in the courſe of former wars, had carried into captivity, and had diſfigured and maimed with a ſavage barbarity. But there is reaſon to believe this account to be fabulous, Arrian not making the leaſt mention of it. Probably it was invented as an apology for thoſe cruel executions of the Aſiatics, of which Alexander appears to have been afterwards frequently guilty.

Takes Paſargadæ.

The treaſures which he found here, and at Paſargadae, a city not far from Perſepolis, where the Perſian Kings were wont to be inaugurated, together with the riches of Suſa and Babylon, ſurpaſſed what his moſt ſanguine hopes could have promiſed him.

Treaſures found;

The ſilver and gold alone amounted to upwards of thirty millions ſterling; beſides jewels and precious things of ineſtimable value, in ſo vaſt a quantity, that, if Plutarch [3] may be believed, there was ſufficient to load twenty thouſand mules and five thouſand camels. He alſo found at Suſa the brazen ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which had been carried away from Athens by Xerxes: Alexander took care to have them ſent back to that city.

their effect on Alexander and the Macedonians.

This exceſſive opulence had been a ſource of corruption and ruin to the Perſians; and it now proved fatal alſo to the Greeks. The rough Macedonians began to have a reliſh for Aſiatic luxuries; and many

[2] Diod. Sic. Quint. Cur.

[3] In Alexand.

of them, in the ſumptuouſneſs of their dreſs, the delicacy of their tables, the elegance and number of their attendants, and the profuſion and richneſs of their perfumes, had already aſſumed more of the appearance of effeminate ſatraps, than of the leaders of a warlike nation *. Alexander himſelf, however he may be ſaid to have cenſured theſe exceſſes, had given but too much occaſion for them; the profuſe manner in which he had beſtowed thoſe treaſures among his ſervants, furniſhing them with temptations to voluptuous indulgences, and with the means of enjoying them; thus making wealth the reward of military merit, which muſt always, in the end, prove deſtructive of it.

His own conduct alſo, after ſome time, was far from diſplaying an example, which a good Prince ſhould exhibit to his people; and, whether from natural inclination, or corrupted by Aſiatic manners, he appears to have been too often fond of mixing in ſcenes of revelry and intemperance.

The palace of Perſepolis burnt, at the inſtigation of Thais.

It was on ſuch an occaſion, as Plutarch informs us that he was prevailed on by Thais, the courteſan to ſet fire to the royal palace of Perſepolis; a ſtructure held in univerſal admiration for its beauty and magnificence, even in that country, where the eye was familiarized to ſuch objects.

The King, on a certain day, had made a great entertainment for his friends, to which, ſuch was the indelicacy of manners, women of Thais's character were admitted. When, flushed with wine, "This day," cried Thais, "has made me amends

* See Plutarch's Alexander.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

" for all my toilſome travels through Aſia, by putting " it in my power to trample on the proud courts of " Perſia's King's. But how much more glorious " would it be, to fire the palace of Xerxes, who laid " Athens in ruins; and to have it ſaid in future times, " that the women of Alexander's train have more " ſignally avenged the cauſe of Greece againſt the " Perſians, than all the generals before him have " been able to do!"

The propoſal was received with loud applauſe, and carried into immediate execution; the King himſelf ſnatching up the firſt torch, and leading the way. Arrian [5] makes no mention of Thais. He only tells us, that Alexander laid the palace of Perſepolis in aſhes, in revenge of what Xerxes had a hundred and fifty years before done to Greece. Parmenio endeavoured to prevent this act of phrenzy. But Alexander would not be controled; though he afterwards, it is ſaid, repented of it.

Alexander reſumes the purſuit of Darius.

It was now time for him to turn his thoughts to Darius, who, aſſiſted by able and faithful ſervants, might have improved to uſeful purpoſe the long interval which Alexander's diſſipation afforded him. A report, that the Perſian monarch had raiſed numerous forces, and was preparing to renew the war, called the Macedonian from Perſepolis [6]; poſſibly the artifice of ſome honeſt Macedonian, who ſaw with concern his preſent inactivity.

Beſſus's perfidy.

The unhappy Darius had the fate which all deſ-

[5] Lib. iii. c. 18.
[6] Arrian, ubi ſup.

potic princes in their fall generally meet with. Beſſus, who attended him in his flight, under a ſemblance of zeal, concealed the moſt treacherous deſigns. He had adviſed him to take refuge in Bactriana, of which he was governor, where he promiſed powerful reſources, that would enable him to diſpute the prize of empire once more. His real deſign was, to keep poſſeſſion of his perſon, and, under ſanction of his name, to uſurp the regal authority, ſecure of removing him out of the way, when no longer neceſſary. Darius ſoon found reaſon, in the inſolence with which he was treated, to ſuſpect Beſſus, and refuſed to follow him. Provoked at which, the villain, throwing off all diſguiſe, had the aſſurance to put his ſovereign in chains, and to force him along with him.

Such was the ſtate of things, at the time Alexander reſumed the thought of purſuing Darius[7]. Before he had proceeded far, he received information of the treaſon of Beſſus; and, immediately taking with him a body of light horſe, gave directions for the reſt of his army to haſten after him, and preſſed the purſuit with the utmoſt expedition. He had proceeded in this manner ſome days, when a Macedonian, named Polyſtratus, found Darius in his chariot at a ſmall diſtance from the road, pierced with wounds and bathed in his blood. It ſeems Satiſbarzanes and Barzaentes, two Perſian lords of Beſſus's party, had ſhot him through with their darts, becauſe he did not haſten on with that precipitation which

Darius murdered by his ſubjects.

[7] Ibid. Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 13. Plut. in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

their fears made them think neceſſary; and ha diſabled the cattle, and killed the ſervants that drov them. The only attendant he had left was a favorit dog, whom he had bred [8]. He had juſt ſtrengt enough to aſk for ſome drink to quench his thirſ And Polyſtratus having brought water from a neigh bouring ſpring; "Now indeed," ſaid the unfortu nate Prince, "do I feel myſelf completely wretched " ſince I am not able to reward thee for this act o " kindneſs. But Alexander will no let thee g " unrewarded. The gods alſo will recompen " Alexander for his humanity to my mother, m " wife, and my children. Tell him, I give hi " my hand, for I give it to thee in his ſtead;" ſ ſaying, he expired. When Alexander came up he lamented affectionately over him; and, coverin the body with his robe, commanded it to be remove to Perſia, and interred in the royal ſepulchre.

Fate of Beſſus:

Alexander continued his purſuit of Beſſus, wh had aſſumed the enſigns of royalty, together wit the name of Artaxerxes [9]; a circumſtance whic probably made him appear ſtill more guilty. It ma be ſufficient here to obſerve, that vengeance at lengt overtook this perfidious traitor, and in a manne worthy of his crime. After flying from province t province, and uſing every artifice to elude his pur ſuers, his aſſociates in guilt delivered him into th hands of Ptolemy, by whom he was brought t Alexander; who took care to vindicate the majeſ

[8] Ælian. hiſt. animal. L. vi. c. 25.
[9] Arrian, L. iii. c. 25.

of

of kings by the exemplary punishment inflicted on him [10]. It is, however, matter of surprise, that Satisbarzanes, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, was, upon his submission, pardoned and promoted. Are we to think, it was not so much the shedding of Darius's blood, as the usurpation of sovereignty, that Alexander thought himself interested in punishing? — The reader will, doubtless, have pleasure in being informed, that, notwithstanding this favor, Satisbarzanes did not escape unpunished. He proved as perfidious to Alexander, as he had been to his own prince; and fell, as he deserved [11].

of Satisbarzanes:

There is one circumstance [12] in the close of Darius's fortunes, which deserves notice. At the battle of Gaugamela, he had near him a body of Greek mercenaries, mostly Phocians. When, urged by his fears, he fled from the field of battle, this faithful band continued to attend him; and not only rejected the proposals, with which Bessus and his accomplices endeavoured to gain them over to their party, but even made offer to Darius, if he would intrust his person to them, to defend him, at the hazard of their lives, against the violence which they perceived was in agitation; but that unfortunate and too gene-

of Greek mercenaries in Darius's service.

[10] Arrian, L. iii. c. 30. Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs Arrian wrote, relate his death differently. Plutarch also, and Quintus Curtius, give us a circumstantial account, but altogether different, of the manner of his death.

[11] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 25 & 28.

[12] Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 12.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

rous prince refuſed to be indebted to ſtrangers for a protection, which he could not obtain from his own ſubjects; thinking, perhaps, that to avow his diſtruſt of Beſſus would only precipitate matters, and ſerve as an excuſe for the treaſon he meditated. When theſe gallant Greeks perceived that Darius's fate was not to be prevented, they declined to have farther connexion with the traitors, and ſtruck into another road [13]. They proceeded afterwards to Alexander, who, in conſideration of their noble ſpirit, forgave them, and employed moſt of them in his ſervice.

Fidelity of Artabazus and his ſons.

It is alſo remarkable, that of all the Perſians, none preſerved their allegiance inviolate to Darius in his misfortunes, but Artabazus and his ſons. Their fidelity had its recompence. Alexander received them at his court, and held them ever after in the higheſt eſteem.

Alexander reduces a number of extenſive provinces.

Beſſus ſeemed to be the principal object of the expedition in which Alexander was now engaged, the important purpoſes of conqueſt [14] were however, not forgotten. In the courſe of his progreſs, Alexander ſaw a ſucceſſion of extenſive provinces ſtill opening before him; and he took care, as he paſſed through them, either to accept the ſubmiſſion of the ſeveral nations, or to reduce them to obedience [15]. Of

[13] Arrian, L. iii. c. 18.

[14] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 23 & ſeq.

[15] It was in the courſe of this expedition, when he was at Zadracarta in Hyrcania, that he is ſaid by certain romantic writers of his hiſtory, (See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 5) to have had an interview with Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons, who, drawn by the fame of his exploits, came with a numerous

this number were the inhabitants of Hyrcania, Bactriana, Ariana, Drangiana, Archosia, Sogdiana, and, in general, of all the countries from the Caspian sea to the Indus, as far northward as the river Jaxartes [16], which, in those days, was the Scythian boundary on this side. Some of these nations, nevertheless, seem not to have been wanting in natural courage, and to have had the advantage of strong holds, which might have bidden their enemies defiance. The rock of Sogdiana, particularly, and that of Chorienes, in the country of the Paraetacae, (if the accounts of ancient historians may be depended on) seem to have been nearly impregnable. They were both of an amazing height, and of so steep an ascent, that (even when there was no enemy) the foot could scarcely find a step to rest on; and being surrounded also by rapid torrents and by vast precipices, in which the winter-snow remained collected to an immense depth, whosoever slipped in attempting

retinue from the banks of the Thermodon, to visit him, in hopes of having lineage by him. But, besides that neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy make mention of such an adventure, there is good reason to doubt, whether such a people ever existed. The fable, it seems, was the invention of Onesicritus, who served in these very wars, but was fond of the embellishments of fiction. One day, when he was reading this part of his history to Lysimachus, one of Alexander's chief captains, at that time King of Thrace, "Where was I," said he, smiling, "when all this happened?"— See Plutarch in Alexand. Consult also Arrian, L. vii. c. 13; and Strabo Casaub. L. xi. p. 348.

[16] The Greeks mistook it for the Tanais. Arrian, L. iii. c. 30. — Consult Strabo, L. xi. p. 356, 357.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

the dangerous path, fell, never to riſe again. Theſe rocks, beſides, were well garriſoned, and ſupplied with proviſions for a length of years. Alexander, however, partly by ſtratagem, partly by the terror of his arms, got theſe and every other place of ſtrength into his power; the wretched inhabitants, wherever he met with reſiſtance, being put to the ſword without mercy. It were of little uſe to follow him through all the ſcenes of carnage and deſolation, of which his plan of operations was productive. It may be ſufficient to ſay, that not only thoſe, who might be ſuppoſed to have ſhared in Beſſus's crime, but alſo every people, who appeared to be in poſſeſſion of any portion of liberty, and had the ſpirit to defend it, felt the utmoſt ſeverity of relentleſs war [17].

Attempts the Scythians.

The Scythians, famed as they were for their poverty and ſimplicity of manners, could not eſcape. This people, known ſince by the name of Tartars, occupied, as ſome of their deſcendents ſtill do, a vaſt tract of country to the north and north weſt of Europe and Aſia; and were ſaid to have been victorious over every nation, that had attempted to ſubdue them. And, what might have induced the Macedonian the more to peace, their adjoining tribes had ſent him an embaſſy with a tender of friendſhip. In return, he commiſſioned certain perſons to paſs into Scythia, and to report their manner of living, and in what way he might moſt effectually reduce them into ſubjection. With this view, he built a city on the Jaxartes, by means of which he might

[17] Arrian, L. iv. c. 1 & ſeq.

have commanded, at pleaſure, a paſſage into their country. But his wonted ſucceſs failed him here. After making repeated inroads into their borders, and deſtroying a few of their towns, he ſaw it availed nothing. They drew him into ſituations, where he and his troops were in danger of periſhing: they haraſſed him by the abruptneſs of their attacks, and the quickneſs of their retreats: they ſurrounded parties of his men, when they leaſt expected it, and cut them in pieces without mercy [18]: and if ever he joined battle with them, though victorious, he found it impracticable to penetrate thoſe deep deſerts, of which none but Scythians could tell the extent, and in which they were always ſecure of finding refuge. Arrian [19] ſays, they at laſt offered peace, which Alexander accepted. If ſuch an offer was ever made, there is reaſon to believe, that a few only of the leaſt conſiderable of their tribes, were concerned in it. Probably Alexander was not diſpleaſed to have a pretence, whatever it might be, for turning his arms againſt other nations, leſs capable of reſiſtance.

baffled by them.

Whilſt the ſon of Olympias was employed in adding to the number of his conqueſts, he was loſing ground in the affections of his people. Many cauſes contributed to this; the haughty port he aſſumed; his abſurd ambition of being accounted a

Becomes haughty, ſuſpicious, and tyrannical.

[18] In one action, it appears from Curtius (vii. 7.) he ſuſtained ſuch loſs, that it was made death to thoſe who ſurvived, to divulge what had happened. Probably, this is the action ſpoken of (Arrian, iv. 6.) in which he tells us, only forty horſe and three hundred foot eſcaped.

[19] Arrian, L. iv. c. 15.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

god; the contempt he affected to have for Macedonian manners; the pleasure which he seemed to take in the servile honors he received from the Asiatics; and, above all, that suspicious and cruel disposition, which now began to appear strongly in him, and of which he had lately given fatal proofs in the case of the unhappy Philotas, and especially in that of Parmenio. This melancholy transaction happened soon after Darius's death, when Alexander was on his expedition in pursuit of Bessus; and was then omitted that it might not break in upon the narrative of the operations depending on that expedition. It may, not improperly, have its place here.

Character of Parmenio.

Philotas was son to Parmenio, who had served with great distinction under Philip, and had been always honored with particular marks of confidence by his royal master. When Alexander passed into Asia, Parmenio, in like manner, continued on every occasion to approve himself a faithful and zealous servant; and he enjoyed so large a share of confidence, that in the three great battles, which completed the overthrow of the Persian empire, it was to him the command of the left wing was intrusted, whilst the King himself charged at the head of the other. In all these actions, the only imputation that ever lay against him was, that his anxiety for his master's safety sometimes betrayed him into over-cautious counsels. He was at this time upwards of seventy years of age; of three sons, he had only Philotas left (the two others having fallen in the service of Alexander;) and he had been lately sent to command in Media, which office he discharged with the strictest vigilance and most unblemished integrity.

Sect. 2.

of his ſon Philotas.

What Parmenio had been in his days of vigor, Philotas was now; of acknowledged courage; generous; poliſhed; perhaps ſomewhat too magnificent in his manner of living; beloved by the ſoldiers; and highly in favor with Alexander, who had advanced him to the firſt military honors.

Philotas ſuſpected on ſlight grounds:

A[20] certain Macedonian, named Cebalinus, had informed Philotas of ſome deſign carried on againſt Alexander's life by one Dymnus[21], and other perſons unknown, deſiring he would acquaint the King with the particulars. Philotas promiſed he would; but whether he thought the information frivolous, or whether, as his enemies pretended, from worſe motives, he neglected to perform that promiſe. Cebalinus, diſcovering this neglect, contrived to have his information conveyed to the King through another channel; at the ſame time acquainting Alexander, that he had firſt made his application to Philotas, but without effect.

This account had already raiſed doubts of Philotas in Alexander's mind, when an unlucky incident added to them. Dymnus, the accuſed perſon was ſent for; who, to prevent the extorting any confeſſion from him, laid violent hands on himſelf. This indication of guilt convinced the King, that ſome dark purpoſe had been in agitation; and not knowing on whom to fix his ſuſpicions, he turned them on Philotas, whoſe motive for concealing the information

[20] Arrian, L. iii. c. 26. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 7 & ſeq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 8.

[21] Quintus Curtius, according to cuſtom, has ſet off this ſtory with many romantic circumſtances.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

was now interpreted into an argument of his being privy to the treaſon. Philotas had nevertheleſs owned his fault to the King, with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations, that his imprudence aroſe altogether from his mean opinion of the informer; and, in appearance, had ſatisfied Alexander of his innocence.

It was exceedingly improbable, that a perſon, with ſuch means in his power as Philotas poſſeſſed, ſhould, during two whole days (for this time had elapſed between the firſt and ſecond information) have remained altogether indifferent about the matter, had he really been engaged in ſuch a conſpiracy; and ſhould have taken no ſtep either to remove Cebalinus, or to apprize Dymnus and his accomplices of the danger that threatened them.

tortured.

But his ſervices and merit were too conſpicuous, to be ſeen without attracting envy. Some officious counſellors, among whom hiſtory mentions even Craterus, under pretence of concern for Alexander's perſonal ſafety, took advantage of the King's weak moments, and prevailed on him to have Philotas examined by torture. He bore this cruelty at firſt with great fortitude, and perſiſted in aſſerting his innocence. His enemies, nevertheleſs, were too much intereſted in his deſtruction, to permit him to eſcape. They renewed the queſtion, with every circumſtance of barbarity, which that inhuman mode of examination admits of: exhauſted by anguiſh, he confeſſed whatever they would have him confeſs, and probably what never had exiſted, and was inſtantly ſhot to death.

and put to death.

Parmenio put to death.

Parmenio, Philotas's aged father, ſtill remained. It was thought expedient to involve him alſo in his

ſon's guilt. Some hiſtorians[22] relate, that Philotas had criminated his parent when in the agonies of torture; but the falſhood of this appears from Arrian[23]. There were, however, powerful reaſons why Parmenio ſhould not eſcape. He was a man of exalted character; adored by the army; and had been injured in ſuch a manner, that it was not to be imagined he could ever forgive it.

The treachery employed againſt him.

The mean ſtratagem, indeed made uſe of in order to haſten his deſtruction, proves abundantly, that the King himſelf was conſcious of his innocence. The perſon pitched upon to go into Media on this errand, where Parmenio commanded, was Polydamas, Parmenio's friend! of whom the old general could not entertain ſuſpicion. To effect his purpoſe the more ſecurely, he received directions to arrive at an hour when Parmenio might be ſuppoſed to have retired to reſt; and before he ſaw him, to communicate his inſtructions to certain truſty perſons, who might be eaſily wrought upon to aſſiſt in the bloody buſineſs which was meditated.

Thus prepared, in the morning he waited on Parmenio, as if juſt arrived, and delivered him a letter from the King, and another as from his ſon, the King having ſealed it with Philotas's ſignet. The King's letter Parmenio, from reſpect, opened firſt, which being written in his uſual ſtyle of regard and confidence, he read with much pleaſure; and, turning to Polydamas, "Will the

[22] See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 11.

[23] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 26; and Plutarch in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

"King," said he, "never put an end to his toils! he tells "me, he purposes "marching against the Arachosians." He was then preparing to open the letter from when Polydamas, Philotas, and the assassins who had accompanied him, plunged their poniards into his body, and laid him dead at their feet. A few soldiers at a distance were spectators of the deed; who spreading the alarmamong the troops, they were ready to tear Polydamas, with his associates, in pieces; and could hardly be restrained, even when convinced that it had been done in obedience to the King's orders.

Alexander gloomy and violent.

In what light the Macedonians regarded these proceedings, was no secret to Alexander. It was still in his power to have removed much of the odium, under which he labored, by assuming a more gentle and conciliating deportment. But his pride would not permit him. The more he found himself the object of censure, the more gloomy and irritable did he become. He even persisted in avowing his disregard of the Macedonian customs, by the change of his dress, appearing now generally in the pompous garb of an eastern monarch. And, what rendered his conduct yet more offensive, he married a strange woman, Roxana, induced to it merely by the exterior charms she possessed; though in her situation there was somewhat exceedingly humiliating: she was among the prisoners taken at the surrender of the Sogdian rock; and was daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian, one of the associates[24] of the perfidious Bessus. These several circumstances the Mace-

[24] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 28.

donians did not fail to dwell upon with aggravation —A ſtrange woman! a Barbarian! and the daughter of a traitor! BOOK I. Sect. 2.

Such was the general temper of his army, when Alexander's violence betrayed him into another action [25], which, though it had not the ſame guilt of premeditation as that againſt Parmenio, was attended with circumſtances not leſs aggravating.

Clitus has been already mentioned. He was a general of approved valor, and had ſaved Alexander's life at the Granicus. His ſiſter, alſo, had nurſed Alexander. On theſe accounts he was particularly dear to his maſter, notwithſtanding his retaining all the roughneſs of the Macedonian character, which well became the gallant ſoldier, and in which the now prevailing Aſiatic mode had not the power of making the leaſt alteration. It was now a cuſtom with the King to give frequent entertainments to his officers, at which the laws of ſobriety were not often obſerved. To one of theſe Clitus had been invited. When warmed with wine, the King's flatterers began to extol his exploits above thoſe of all the ancient heroes and chieftains of Greece, aſcribing every ſucceſs, that had attended his arms, to him alone, and, at the ſame time, depreciating whatever Philip and his Macedonians had achieved. Clitus was fired. He anſwered them. Alexander, meanly enough, ſupported the ſycophants. And Clitus again, without due regard to the condition in which he ſaw the

provoked by Clitus,

[25] Arrian, L. iv. c. 8 & ſeq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. viii. c. 1.

BOOK I Sect. 2.

King, retorted with great aſperity; reproaching his maſter with his Perſian robe, and the favor now ſhown to barbarians, without whoſe intervention, he ſaid, Macedonians could not even have acceſs to their ſovereign; "and yet, deſpiſed as we are," continued he, "it was this arm that ſaved you from the "ſword of Spithridates; and theſe very Mace-"donians are the men, at the expenſe of whoſe "blood you are now become ſo great, as to diſdain "to own Philip for your father, and to pretend "yourſelf the ſon of Hammon."

Alexander became tranſported with rage; and, looking round for a weapon, had inſtantly wreaked his vengeance on the offender, had not their common friends compelled Clitus to retire. But he not to be reſtrained by any repreſentations, forced in again; when Alexander, wreſting a javelin from the hand of one of his guards, ſmote him with it as he entered.

kills him.

The bloody deed was no ſooner committed, than Alexander recollected himſelf. The guilt of the action ruſhed upon his mind with all its aggravations —he had killed, with his own hand, his friend! his preſerver!—and, ſnatching the javelin out of Clitus's body, he would have pierced himſelf with it, had not his guards interfered.

Alexander's compunction.

Improper means employed to pacify him.

Every means that humanity or adulation could ſuggeſt, were employed to pacify the King. Even the aids of ſuperſtition were called in. It was Bacchus [26], they told him, who had wrought the miſchief. The King, it ſeems, had omitted certain

[26] See Arrian, L. iv. c. 9, 10.

ſacrifices uſually celebrated in honor of this god; and, in reſentment for the neglect, he had taken this method of puniſhing him. Of what the King, therefore ſeemed to have done, the god was the author. Wretched the ſtate of princes, when even their crimes are thus explained away! and the ſources of inſtruction ſtopped up!

Wiſe repreſentations of Calliſthenes.

There was, however, on this occaſion, an inſtance ſtill more affecting, of the pernicious influence of ſervility and flattery [27]. Among the King's attendants were two philoſophers, Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus. The firſt was a man of rigid vitrue. He had been recommended to Alexander by Ariſtotle, as a valuable ſage, on whoſe wiſdom and integrity he might ſafely depend; and he appears to have ſupported this character, though his auſtere manners were not always acceptable to his maſter. At this conjuncture he behaved to the King with much tenderneſs, but without diſgracing his principles. Incapable of attempting to juſtify the exceſſes, of which Alexander had been guilty, he endeavoured to bring him back to a proper ſenſe of what he owed to the dignity of the regal office, with which he was inveſted, and to convince him, that the only reparation he had now to make was, to be more on his guard in future, againſt thoſe fatal violences into which he had been hurried.

The ſervile flattery of Anaxarchus:

The other, Anaxarchus, rather a vile ſophiſt than a philoſopher, talked to his maſter as if he ſought to eraſe from his mind every humane and generous

[27] Arrian, ubi ſup. Plutarch in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

ſentiment "What!" ſaid he, "is the King caſt down "thus! Does not Alexander know, that juſtice is "what he wills it to be? that his pleaſure is the mea- "ſure of right and wrong? *and therefore have the* "*poets feigned* that JUSTICE IS SEATED ON THE "THRONE OF JUPITER, becauſe, wherever *Supreme* "*Power* is, *Juſtice* is there alſo." Hiſtorians have obſerved, that Anaxarchus ſucceeded but too well. Alexander readily believed what the flattering ſycophant inculcated, and became every day more haughty and more deſpotic.

Its effects on Alexander.

From this time, he certainly appears to have expected from the Macedonians themſelves, a more abject ſubmiſſion than he had hitherto ventured to require. The adventure of the temple of Hammon ſhows, even at an early period, what his views were. He could not ſeriouſly ſuppoſe himſelf a god; but he wiſhed that others ſhould believe him one. And in this idea, he had ſuffered himſelf to be fortified by the mean adulation of the ſophiſts he was ſurrounded with and by the ſervile proſtrations with which the ſlaviſh Perſians approached him

Anaxarchus propoſes that Alexander ſhould receive divine honors;

It was agreed [28] to try, whether the Macedonians might not be prevailed on to imitate the example. Accordingly, at a royal banquet, when the company began to be elevated, and every heart to open to feſtivity and chearfulneſs the propoſal was made in form by Anaxarchus. "There was no doubt," he ſaid, "but ſuch glorious exploits as Alexander had

[28] It is evident from Arrian, (L. iv. c. 10.) that the matter had been concerted with Alexander.

" achieved, challenged every honor the Mace-
" donians had to beſtow. Neither Hercules, nor even
" Bacchus, had equalled what he had performed;
" and yet Macedon numbered them, though both
" of foreign extraction, among her gods. How much
" more juſtly might the like honors be paid to a prince,
" who was their own, and in whoſe glories they
" were directly intereſted?—When he was removed
" from among them, divine honors muſt of courſe
" be his; and therefore to pay them now, was only
" an anticipation of zealous homage, which muſt be
" the more acceptable to Alexander, as he ſhould
" thereby have an opportunity, whilſt preſent with
" them, of enjoying their grateful adoration."

Surpriſe and indignation ſat painted on the countenance of every honeſt Macedonian. Whilſt the perſons who had been appointed to be the principal performers in the farce anſwered Anaxarchus's propoſal with a burſt of applauſe, and were preparing to carry the ſcheme into immediate execution; when Calliſthenes interpoſed:

" Whatever [19] honors can be paid to mortals, are,

Calliſthenes oppoſes it.

[19] Speeches of this kind are often conſidered as the wanton ſportings of the hiſtorian's fancy. This ſpeech deſerves to be thought of differently. From the principles avowed in it, and the fate of Calliſthenes in conſequence of thoſe principles, we are warranted to conjecture, that Arrian had it from thoſe reſpectable memoirs of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, which are known to have been the ground work of his hiſtory. The cauſe, which Calliſthenes pleads here, was in fact the cauſe of Greece, that thoſe ſons of freedom ſhould not have their necks bent down to the ſame ſervile yoke, to which the Aſiatics had been ſubjected; and therefore it was a cauſe to which thoſe two

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

" I confeſs, O Anaxarchus, juſtly due to Alexander.
" Among all the commanders recorded in the annals
" of time, he is, I acknowledge, the firſt in counſel,
" the firſt in valor; and of all the princes of the earth,
" he is beyond compariſon the moſt illuſtrious. But
" ſtill the immortal gods are far above him, and very
" different are the honors due to them. It were
" blaſphemy to confound the one with the other.
" What would Alexander himſelf ſay, ſhould any
" perſon preſume to uſurp thoſe exalted honors of
" royalty, which belong to him. And ſhall the gods
" be leſs jealous of what belongs to them, and neglect
" to vindicate their majeſty? — Were it ever to be
" ſuppoſed, that the King could be capable of enter-
" taining ſuch preſumptuous thoughts, you yourſelf,
" O Anaxarchus, who are admitted to ſhare his
" private hours, ſhould be the firſt to reclaim him
" from an error ſo prejudicial to his fame, ſo incon-
" ſiſtent with his piety.—You ſurely muſt have for-
" gotten, who he is, to whom you propoſe to pay
" adoration; not a Cambyſes, not a Xerxes, but
" the ſon of Philip, the deſcendent of princes who
" governed Macedon, not with arbitrary ſway, but
" according to the rule of law.—If, however, O
" Alexander, you are taught to believe, that
" you owe regard to the cuſtoms of thoſe nume-
" rous Aſiatic nations among whom you are; and
" that we Greeks, becauſe few in number, are

officers, at leaſt at that time, muſt have wiſhed well, and the defence of which they muſt with pleaſure have recorded.

This noble monument of Grecian manners, the learned reader will find at length in Arrian, L. iv. c. 11.

to

" to be looked upon as of no account, let me recal to " your remembrance, that this war was undertaken " by you, not that Greece ſhould become dependent " upon Aſia, but Aſia the dependent of Greece — " Conſider beſides, in what difficulties ſuch claims " muſt involve you, when you return home. For is " it to be imagined, that the gallant Greeks, thoſe " ſpirited ſons of liberty, will ever fall proſtrate " before you? or, is this reproach meant only for " your Macedonians? or, ſhall the barbarians alone " honor you as a god? and, from all the reſt of your " empire, will you be content to receive what a " mortal ought to be content with? — Neither let " the practice of the princes of this empire tempt " any one to imitate them. Cyrus, they tell us, had " divine honors paid to him. Admit that he had; " god as he was, the Scythians, poor but free, chaſ- " tiſed his inſolence. Others of the ſame nation " put Darius, though equally honored, to flight. " Xerxes, revered likewiſe as a god, eſcaped with " difficulty from the vengeful arms of Athens " and Sparta. Clearchus and Xenophon bade " defiance to Artaxerxes, who, like his prede- " ceſſors, was alſo adored; and the laſt Darius, " before whom ſo many nations proſtrated them- " ſelves, has our Alexander, though but a mere " mortal, brought to deſtruction."

Alexander's conduct on that occaſion.

The ſeverity of this remonſtrance made Alexander himſelf ſhrink beneath it. The mention of the chaſtiſement of the Perſian Kings by the Scythians; by thoſe very Scythians who had checked the arms, and tarniſhed the glory, of the ſon of Philip, ſunk deep

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

into his mind. He read, at the ſame time, in the faces of thoſe Macedonians around him, who had not yet bowed their necks to the yoke, the ſame independent ſpirit, and the ſame free principles. He ſaw the danger of preſſing the unmanly propoſition. His haughtineſs forſook him. He whiſpered to his creatures to wave the point. They were to confine their endeavours to perſonal and private ſolicitation; and he appeared to content himſelf with the proſtration of thoſe alone, who ſeemed willing to debaſe the dignity of human nature.

His reſentment againſt Calliſthenes.

It was, however, evident, that the diſappointment mortified Alexander ſeverely. He refuſed to Calliſthenes the kiſs, with which it was cuſtomary for the King, at the concluſion of the banquet, to honor his gueſts. "Then," ſaid the philoſopher, "I retire "one kiſs the poorer." And one of his principal officers having ventured to ridicule ſome perſon, who, in the act of adoration, beat his chin againſt the ground, by bidding him "ſtrike with more "fervency," the pleaſantry had nearly coſt him his life; the King with great difficulty having been prevailed on to forgive him.

Hermolaus ſeverely treated by Alexander;

Calliſthenes ſoon felt the effects of the King's reſentment. There was a band of youths of the firſt families of Macedon, whoſe office it was to attend the King's perſon, from which corps they were advanced, as they grew up, to ſome military command. One of theſe, named Hermolaus, had, in the heat of the chaſe, ſtruck down a boar juſt as the King was taking aim at him. Provoked at which, Alexander commanded him to be ſcourged, and his horſe taken

from him. The indignity ſunk deep in the mind of the youth; and, having communicated his grief to ſome of his intimates, he prevailed on them to aſſiſt in revenging him on the King.

conſpires againſt him.

The conſpiracy having been diſcovered, it was ſuggeſted to Alexander[10], that Hermolaus and his fellows were admirers of Calliſthenes, and often reſorted to him. This was enough for Alexander. "His inſtructions," ſaid he "have taught them to "conſpire againſt me." The philoſopher was immediately taken into cuſtody, and, unconvicted, unheard, was ſentenced to death. There is reaſon to believe he was executed privately[11]. The manner in which Hermolaus had behaved at the time of his death, made Alexander cautious of venturing another public execution. Undaunted at his approaching fate, he keenly reproached the King with all his late violences and exceſſes; which had diſgraced him—his condemnation of Philotas, upon preſumption of

Calliſthenes accuſed of having encouraged the conſpiracy.

put to death.

Hermolaus's boldneſs at the time of his execution.

[10] Some writers, among whom Arrian mentions Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, ſay, that Hermolaus and his aſſociates, in the agonies of torture, charged Calliſthenes. Others deny this, and impute his condemnation to the reſentment Alexander had conceived againſt him, on account of his freedom of ſpeech.—See Arrian, L. iv. 14.

[11] This may be collected from the different accounts we have concerning the manner of his death. Plutarch relates it one way; Diogenes Laertius in another; Quintus Curtius in another; Ptolemy, Arrian tells us, pretended he had been put to the rack, and then crucified. Ariſtobulus ſaid, he had been kept in chains for a conſiderable time, and at laſt died a natural death. Conſult Arrian in the place laſt quoted. Conſult alſo Diogenes Laertius in Ariſtotele.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

guilt, unſupported by proof — his murder of Parmenio—his killing of Clitus—his affection of Perſian faſhions—his arrogant and inſulting deportment—his frequent and diſſolute banquetings—his contempt of the laws of his country.

Alexander invades the Indies.

Alexander ſaw the expediency of drawing the attention of his ſubjects away from theſe gloomy ſcenes, which but too plainly diſcovered to their view the fierce deſpotiſm he was preparing for them. The occupations and buſtle of war were now become a neceſſary reſource. After having therefore provided for the peace of the newly-conquered provinces, by quelling domeſtic inſurrections, and ſecuring their frontiers againſt the inroads of the neighbouring Scythians, he determined to employ his arms in the reduction of the Indies; an expedition which ſeemed to promiſe a large field for adventure and enterpriſe, and was alſo well calculated to ſoothe the vanity of the Greeks. An idle report was propagated, that this country had been viſited by Hercules and Bacchus [32], and that here many of their achievements had been performed. Alexander took care, at

[32] It ſeems difficult to fix, with any degree of preciſion, who the Indian Hercules was: it only appears from Arrian (Hiſt. Ind. 9.) that he was poſterior to Bacchus by fifteen generations. Probably he was Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (Strabo, L. xv. calls him Tearcon.) His invaſion of the Aſſyrian provinces was prior to Alexander's by about 400 years.

The Bacchus of the Indies is ſuppoſed to have been Seſoſtris or Seſac, king of Egypt: his expedition into India was about 650 years before that of Alexander.

See Sir I. Newton's Chron. of Anc. Kingdoms.

entering upon the preſent expedition, to encourage this belief. The city of Nyſſa, they were told, had been founded by Bacchus himſelf. In one place was ſhown to them the identical boundaries that Hercules had ſet up; and in many parts they met with the deſcendants of the Greeks who had fought under the banners of theſe deified heroes.

Fictions concerning the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules.

It does not appear, however, that Alexander reſpected much theſe pretended traces of Grecian lineage. He reduced into ſubjection every people he viſited; ſparing none who preſumed to oppoſe him. At Maſſaga particularly, the chief city of a nation called the Aſſaceni, he carried his cruelty to an exceſs, which thoſe hiſtorians, who favor him moſt, find it difficult to palliate. He met here with a vigorous reſiſtance, the city being of ſome ſtrength, and the ſovereign of the country having called in a reinforcement of ſeven thouſand mercenary Indians. At length Alexander compelled him to ſurrender, the garriſon having firſt ſtipulated, that they ſhould *march out* in ſafety. They *marched out* accordingly; when Alexander baſely pretended, that his promiſe extended no farther, and had them afterwards, when at ſome diſtance from the city, ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Arrian [33] ſays, they had engaged to enter into his ſervice, and that he was informed they meant to eſcape back into their own country. Plutarch allows [34] that this tranſaction has left a laſting ſtain on the memory of the conqueror.

Alexander's ſucceſſes.

[33] L. iv. c. 26, 27.

[34] In Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

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[32] It ſeems difficult to fix, with any degree of preciſion, who the Indian Hercules was: it only appears from Arrian (Hiſt. Ind. 9.) that he was poſterior to Bacchus by fifteen generations. Probably he was Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (Strabo, L. xv. calls him Tearcon.) His invaſion of the Aſſyrian provinces was prior to Alexander's by about 400 years.

The Bacchus of the Indies is ſuppoſed to have been Seſoſtris or Seſac, king of Egypt: his expedition into India was about 650 years before that of Alexander.

See Sir I. Newton's Chron. of Anc. Kingdoms.

entering upon the preſent expedition, to encourage this belief. The city of Nyſſa, they were told, had been founded by Bacchus himſelf. In one place was ſhown to them the identical boundaries that Hercules had ſet up; and in many parts they met with the deſcendants of the Greeks who had fought under the banners of theſe deified heroes.

Fictions concerning the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules.

It does not appear, however, that Alexander reſpected much theſe pretended traces of Grecian lineage. He reduced into ſubjection every people he viſited; ſparing none who preſumed to oppoſe him. At Maſſaga particularly, the chief city of a nation called the Aſſaceni, he carried his cruelty to an exceſs, which thoſe hiſtorians, who favor him moſt, find it difficult to palliate. He met here with a vigorous reſiſtance, the city being of ſome ſtrength, and the ſovereign of the country having called in a reinforcement of ſeven thouſand mercenary Indians. At length Alexander compelled him to ſurrender, the garriſon having firſt ſtipulated, that they ſhould *march out* in ſafety. They *marched out* accordingly; when Alexander baſely pretended, that his promiſe extended no farther, and had them afterwards, when at ſome diſtance from the city, ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Arrian [33] ſays, they had engaged to enter into his ſervice, and that he was informed they meant to eſcape back into their own country. Plutarch allows [34] that this tranſaction has left a laſting ſtain on the memory of the conqueror.

Alexander's ſucceſſes.

[33] L. iv. c. 26, 27.

[34] In Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

But of all his exploits, that which flattered Alexander's vanity moſt, was the taking of the Aornos [35], a vaſt rock, near the ſources of the Indus. The Greeks had given it this name, on account of its ſtupendous height, which, together with its ſituation, and the ſteepneſs of its aſcent, ſeemed to render it impregnable. Hercules himſelf, fiction related, had failed before it. The moſt warlike of the inhabitants of the country had, beſides, ſtationed themſelves here, with every means of defence within the compaſs of their military ſcience. Alexander, notwithſtanding, did what Hercules could not perform. After ſome attempts of little moment, the Indians, ſtruck with wonder at the execution of the machines which the Macedonians uſed, and the boldneſs of their works, abandoned the place [36].

Takes the Aornos;

The people, againſt whom all theſe martial terrors were employed, are nevertheleſs repreſented [37] to have been ſtrictly juſt; humane; peaceable; inoffenſive; and ſuch religious obſervers of the rights of mankind, that the name of ſlavery was unknown among them. They were remarkable for their police; the whole nation being divided into ſeven *caſts*, or diſtinct profeſſions, which were continued down

Character of the inhabitants.

[35] This word, evidently of Greek extraction, is probably a tranſlation of the Indian name, *beyond the flight of bird*; an exaggerated manner of expreſſion, which from what little we know of their language, ſeems to have been familiar to them.

[36] See Arrian, L. iv. c. 28.

[37] Arrian Hiſt. Ind. c. 10 & ſeq. See alſo Strabo, L. xv. p. 484 & ſeq.

from father to ſon, no perſon being permitted to paſs, or even to marry into another. Of theſe, they who were employed in the cultivation of the land, or the tending of flocks, were held in particular honor, and enjoyed a perpetual exemption from military ſervice. Over the ſeveral *caſts* inſpectors were appointed, who reported to the King the conduct of each individual, and who, ſays Arrian, adminiſtered their truſt with ſuch unblemiſhed integrity, that no inſtance had ever been known of their having been guilty of a malicious repreſentation. The modern [38] traveller ſees with admiration, the remains of this order of eſtabliſhments ſubſiſting at this day among the tribes of Hindoſtan. But neither from the wiſdom of their inſtitutions, nor from the innocence of their manners, could they obtain protection.

The Indian chieftains, from the Indus to the Hydaſpes, ſubmit to Alexander.

That portion of India, which was the ſcene of Alexander's operations, lay far to the weſtward of the Ganges, and, according to Arrian, may be divided into three parts; that ſituated to the weſt of the Indus; that between the Indus and the Hydaſpes; and that between the Hydaſpes and the Hyphaſis. The firſt of theſe diſtricts Alexander ſoon reduced, the natives being unable to make much reſiſtance; the fate of two or three of their cities having intimidated the reſt. He then paſſed the Indus. Taxiles reigned here. He appears to have been a warlike prince, and poſſeſſed of an extenſive and powerful kingdom; but the fame of Alexander's arms had

[38] See L'Abbé Raynal, Hiſt. Phil. L. i. c. 4.

BOOK I. Sect. 2

already ſubdued him. He ſubmitted himſelf and his dominions to be diſpoſed of as the conqueror pleaſed. His neighbour, Abiſſarus, king of the Indians of the mountains[11], haſtened in like manner to avert the deſtruction that threatened him: and ſuch was the terror which had fallen on the whole land, that there ſeemed to be an end of all oppoſition".

Porus reſolves to oppoſe Alexander's progreſs.

Porus, who reigned beyond the Hydaſpes, had other thoughts. He aſſembled his forces, and, regardleſs of the name and power of his foe, reſolved to preſerve his independence, or to periſh in the attempt. Inſtead, therefore, of ſeeing him a tame ſuppliant, Alexander beheld him guarding the paſſes of the river, at the head of a formidable army, and directing his operations with all the capacity and ſpirit of an experienced and undaunted warrior. It was now the ſummer-ſolſtice, when the ſeveral rivers under the equator, ſwollen by the melting of the mountain-ſnows, and the heavy rains which fall during that ſeaſon, eſpecially on the higher grounds, overflow their banks; ſo that the Hydaſpes, from its vaſt breadth, had rather the appearance of a ſea than a river. It was, beſides, uncommonly deep and rapid, whilſt the narrower and more ſhallow parts, which cavalry might have attempted to croſs, were, on the oppoſite ſide, defended by lines of elephants, to which horſes have a ſtrong and almoſt invincible antipathy.

Alexander attempts to paſs the Hydaſpes, in vain.

He has recourſe to artifice.

After many fruitleſs efforts, Alexander, finding it impoſſible to gain his point by open force, deter-

[11] Arrian. L. v. c. 8.

mined to try whether he could deceive the enemy [11]. Accordingly, for several days he presented himself, as if preparing to pass over; which, as often as it was done, brought Porus to the edge of the water, threatening a vigorous resistance. This manœuvre having been repeated time after time, without any farther attempt, was at length considered by the Indian as a feint, of which the intention was only to harass his troops. Instead, therefore, of following Alexander in all his motions, he contented himself with sending parties up and down the river to reconnoitre. In this situation of things, Alexander set about the execution of his plan.

His plan.

A few miles higher up, a part of the river ran much narrower, by means of a jutting rock, and the winding of the land; and about the middle of the channel, opposite to the rock, lay a small desert island. This spot Alexander had fixed upon, in hopes, that, if he could get his troops over to the island, he might easily from thence penetrate further. In this view, some large barges, with a number of rafts, and stuffed leathern bags, for the purpose of ferrying over the army, had been privately conveyed at different times to a wood, which skirted that part of the river, and there lay concealed. Having given directions, that the usual appearances should be kept up throughout the camp; that the royal tent, which was within view of the Indians, should have the same parade of guards and attendants, as if he were there in person; and that, as soon as night came on,

[11] Arrian, L. v. c. 10. Plut. in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

they ſhould keep the enemy in continual alarm, by lighting fires in different places, by frequent ſhoutings, and the tumult and trampling of men and horſes, as if the army was preparing to croſs over; Alexander, towards the decline of day, filed off for the appointed rendezvous, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, by a road leading from the back part of the camp, not within obſervation of the enemy's ſcouting-parties. Fortunately, by the time he got to that part of the bank from whence the attempt was to be made, the night became exceedingly tempeſtuous, ſo that, though the river happened to be much deeper, and the paſſage far more difficult, than he expected, yet the darkneſs of the night, and the violence of the ſtorm, concealed him ſo effectually from the enemy, that, before they were apprized of his purpoſe, he had already reached the iſland.

From this iſland, he had imagined the paſſage to the oppoſite ſhore admitted of no difficulty. He now found there was another iſland to be croſſed, and beyond it a conſiderable gut, in which the ſwell was ſo high from the late fall of rain, that the horſes were up to their necks. By this time too it was day-light; and the weather having cleared up, he perceived that the enemy had full view of him, and were haſtening from every part to oppoſe his landing.

He paſſes the Hydaſpes:

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, Alexander paſſed on, and was already on firm ground, when the firſt detachment of Porus's troops came up with him; whom he inſtantly charged and cut to pieces.

Upon receiving notice of the Macedonians paſſing the river, Porus, who thought it was only a ſmall detachment of little conſequence, had diſpatched againſt them his ſon with a party of horſe and ſome armed chariots; but a ſecond account informing him, that this party was defeated, his ſon ſlain, and the enemy led on by Alexander himſelf, he immediately formed his army in order of battle, and advanced to meet him.

defeats a party of Indians.

The intrepid manner [41] of the Indian chieftain, and the ſkilful diſpoſition he had made, ſhowed Alexander that he had not a common enemy to contend with. Porus's cavalry, flanked by a number of armed chariots, formed the wings of his army. His infantry, in number about thirty thouſand, compoſed his main body, in the front of which he had placed his elephants, at ſuch diſtances, that it was not poſſible for Alexander's cavalry to make impreſſion on this line, the very ſight and ſmell of theſe animals deterring the horſes from approaching; whilſt the foot, had they attempted to break in upon this diſpoſition, were not only in imminent danger of being trampled down by theſe tremendous creatures, but were expoſed to the deadly aim of numbers of Indian markſmen [42].

Porus marches againſt him.

Alexander perceived at once what was proper to be done. His main body he commanded to halt at ſome diſtance from the main body of the enemy; and, having detached Coenus to attack the right wing,

Alexander attacks and defeats him.

[41] Arrian, L. v. c. 15 & ſeq.

[42] OLYMP. cxiii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 327.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

with directions to wheel round as ſoon as poſſible, and fall on the enemy's rear, he at the ſame time, in perſon, charged their left wing. This unexpected operation threw the Indians into confuſion. Attacked both in front and rear, their cavalry, in which they were weakeſt, were ſoon diſperſed; and Alexander, having thus laid open the flank of their main body, puſhed on, whilſt the Macedonian phalanx, who had now orders to advance, took advantage of the enemy's broken condition, and, getting between the elephants, incloſed them, and either diſabled, or drove them back upon the Indian troops.

But what completed the ruin of the Indian army, was a movement of Craterus, who commanded in the Macedonian camp. As ſoon as he ſaw the battle incline in favor of Alexander, he inſtantly croſſed the Hydaſpes, purſuant to inſtructions left with him, and pouring in his freſh troops on this fatigued and diſpirited enemy, made dreadful havock, and fixed deciſively the fortune of the day.

Porus's ſpirit;

Porus, amidſt this general diſcomfiture, ſtill preſerved an unconquered mind; and though wounded, and left almoſt alone, refuſed to quit the field of battle. Alexander, who ſaw his danger, and admired his valor, wiſhed to ſave him, and ſent Taxiles to perſuade him to ſurrender. "Baſe betrayer of thy "country!" ſaid Porus to him, as ſoon as he approached; and would inſtantly have ſlain him, had he not ſaved himſelf by flight. Meroes, an Indian, who was on terms of friendſhip with Porus, was then ſent, who, having repreſented how ineffectual any farther oppoſition was, with the

prevailed on to ſurrender to Alexander.

gracious treatment he might be assured of, he at length prevailed on him to approach Alexander. The conqueror beheld the vanquished Prince with admiration. Porus had, as historians tell us, an uncommon dignity in his appearance; his stature was much above the usual size, and his eye betrayed nothing of his present fortune. "How do you "require I should treat you?" said Alexander to him. "As a King," answered the other. "As a "King, I shall, doubtless," replied Alexander; "the regard I owe to myself demands it of me. But "have you nothing to ask on your own private "account?" — "To be treated as a King," said the royal prisoner, "implies every thing." Moved by this greatness of spirit, Alexander restored him to his kingdom, and endeavoured to make compensation for what he had suffered, if any thing could make this Prince amends for the unprovoked slaughter of his people, and the death of his two sons, the second having fallen in the last action. Alexander, however, found Porus ever afterwards to remain one of his most faithful allies.

The devastations committed by Alexander, from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis.

Other wars succeeded. There were several princes in the country, who had not yet submitted; and this was a crime which Alexander could not forgive. What Arrian relates [42], seems indeed to exceed all belief; that in this part of India, between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, he subdued seven different nations, and took two thousand cities; of these, thirty-seven belonged to the Glausae alone [43], not one of which,

[42] L. vi. c. 2.
[43] L. v. c. 20.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

ſays Arrian, had fewer than five thouſand inhabitants, and many above ten thouſand; beſides a number of villages, peopled in proportion. Some were ſtill more populous; ſeventeen thouſand being ſlain, and ſeventy thouſand made priſoners, at the ſacking of Sangala [44], which he laid in ruins, becauſe the inhabitants had the inſolence to make a vigorous defence. Allowing even theſe numbers to be greatly exaggerated, we may nevertheleſs conclude, that this country muſt then have been exceedingly populous [45], and in a very high ſtate of cultivation.

Propoſes to paſs on to the Ganges.

When the Macedonian found there was nothing more for him to ſubdue on this ſide the Hyphaſis, he propoſed to paſs on to the Ganges. There, he was told, he ſhould meet with ſeveral rich and mighty kingdoms, whoſe inhabitants were famed for their ſkill in huſbandry, their valor, and their wiſdom, and who were poſſeſſed of elephants larger than any he had yet beheld. Theſe were powerful incitements for him to make trial of their ſtrength; as if it had been his glory to deface whatever was fair and lovely among men, and, to the decencies and bleſſings of ſocial life, to ſubſtitute horror and devaſtation.

His ſoldiers refuſe to proceed.

But his ſoldiers refuſed to proceed. Worn out with toil, to which they ſaw no end, and, perhaps, not inſenſible to the miſeries, of which they had ſo often been the inſtruments, they demanded, that he

[44] Arrian, L. v. c. 24.

[45] After the reduction of Indoſtan by the Tartars, the population of the country amounted, according to Raynal (L. iv. c. 11.) to a hundred millions of Indians, and ten millions of Tartars.

ſhould now think of returning. Alexander expoſtulated with them. He laid before them the glorious plan he had formed; the execution of which, he told them was to give them poſſeſſion of boundleſs treaſure, and would render their names illuſtrious to lateſt times — he propoſed "to purſue his conqueſts to the Ganges; and from thence to make his way to the eaſtern ocean — thence they were to have the opportunity of paſſing from ſea to ſea, and of viſiting many unknown lands, one great ocean, he told them, encompaſſing the whole earth — that afterwards, ſailing along the whole coaſt of Africa, they ſhould return by Hercules's pillars, thus completing the conqueſt of all the Aſiatic and African nations— and that whatever ſhould then appear to be the boundaries of the world, thoſe he would eſtabliſh for the boundaries of his empire [46]."

His plan of conquering all the nations of the earth.

Had this viſionary project been handed down to us upon the authority of Curtius, we ſhould be apt to conſider it as one of thoſe romantic embelliſhments, which this author has interwoven in many parts of his hiſtory; but we have it upon the word of the ſober Arrian, who wrote from authentic memoirs of reſpectable witneſſes; to whoſe charge, if any thing can be laid, it is, that they have ſought rather to extenuate the exceſſes and follies of this firm but vainglorious Prince

From this account, it is eaſy to perceive, that Alexander had a view alſo to Rome. Arrian [47], in

[46] Arrian, L. v. c. 25, 26.

[47] L. vii. c. 1.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

another place, confeſſes, it was generally believed that he had. Other writers are more explicit. They tell us expreſsly, that he declared his intentions of carrying his arms into Italy, as ſoon as he had made an end of conquering the other nations of the earth.

He employs ſolicitations to prevail on his army to accompany him;

In order to gain over his ſoldiers, he made uſe of every argument that unſatisfied ambition could ſuggeſt; he deſcended to ſolicitations; he choſe rather, he told them, to entreat than to command; he conjured them to remember, in what manner he had lived among them, in what eſtimation he held their achievements, how bountifully he had rewarded their valor and fidelity. But his men were not to be moved. When he had done ſpeaking, a ſullen ſilence enſued; the whole army expreſſing by their looks the ſtrongeſt marks of diſapprobation, though fearful of exciting his wrath by an avowed oppoſition.

but without effect.

At length Coenus, an officer of the firſt rank, whom years and ſervices rendered reſpectable, ventured to reply [48]:

Coenus's remonſtrance.

" Since, O King, you are pleaſed to declare, " that you mean not to command but to perſuade, " and that you yourſelf are ready to comply with the " wiſhes of your army, if it ſhall appear there is " conviction in the arguments which they have to " offer, I riſe to ſpeak, not in behalf of us your " principal officers, who, diſtinguiſhed by your " favor, ſee ourſelves promoted to the firſt military " honors; for, whitherſoever your order ſhall call

[48] Arrian, L. v. c. 27.

us,

" us, we are ready to obey; I riſe to ſpeak in behalf
" only of theſe your faithful ſoldiers.

" Neither in behalf even of them, would I preſume
" to ſpeak, were it merely *their* intereſt I had in
" view. A much higher regard urges me; a regard
" to your royal perſon; a regard to the conſervation
" of your ſacred life.

" On many accounts I think myſelf called upon
" to ſtand forth on this important occaſion: theſe
" grey hairs of mine; the honors you have graced
" me with; the life I have lived, amidſt toils and
" dangers; ſeem all to require of me, that I ſhould,
" on this day, honeſtly ſpeak what I think it is
" expedient for you to hear.

" The greater our dangers and fatigues have
" been, the more numerous and illuſtrious the ex-
" ploits achieved by you and the troops under your
" command, the ſtronger reaſon there is to beſeech
" you to put an end to our labors, and to reſt con-
" tented with that large portion of glory you have
" acquired.

" Caſt your eyes around. Of all the Greeks and
" Macedonians that accompanied you from Europe,
" ſee, how few of us remain! The Theſſalians,
" worn out in the ſervice, you have already
" diſmiſſed. Numbers of the other Greeks have
" periſhed by the ſword and by diſeaſe, in the courſe
" of the many wars you have been engaged in. The
" greater number of thoſe who ſurvive, you have
" been under the neceſſity of leaving behind in
" different parts of Aſia, diſabled by wounds, or
" weakened by infirmity, cut off from the hopes of

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

" ever beholding Greece more: and even the few " who yet remain with you, and ſtill retain ſome " appearance of vigor, have neither that firmneſs " of body, nor that ſtrength of mind, which they " had at the beginning. They languiſh for their " native home, looking wiſhfully for the day that " ſhall again reſtore them to their parents, their " wives, and their children.

" Wonder not, O King, that this deſire ſhould " work ſtrongly within them. You yourſelf have " given it ſtrength. You have enriched them with " wealth; you have graced them with honors: they " long to ſhow to their neareſt connexions, thoſe " ornaments which they have received from you. — " Compel not, therefore, men to follow you, who " can no longer have the ſame affection for the " ſervice they once had; whoſe bodies are averſe " from toil, and whoſe minds are ſunk into " dejection.

" Think alſo, that you have a parent in Greece, " who anxiouſly waits your return, and a kingdom " that demands your attention. Full of glory, and " laden with the ſpoils of Aſia, you will have the " joy of making a people happy, and a mother " bleſt.

" And ſhould you hereafter be diſpoſed to go again " to war, either againſt the Indians, or againſt " Carthage and the Lybian nations, you will have " ſoldiers from every part of Macedon crowding to " your ſtandard; not men ſuch as theſe, bent by " years, and ſubdued by labor; but ſoldiers freſh " and vigorous, who will think lightly of toils

" they are not acquainted with, and will chearfully
" encounter the ſharpeſt dangers, in expectation
" of ſuch rewards as theſe your old ſoldiers now
" poſſeſs.

" Moderation, amidſt the allurements of proſ-
" perity, is man's higheſt glory. This glory, O
" King, be thine. Succeſs has hitherto attended
" your arms; you cannot be aſſured that it ſhall
" always attend them; for, though with ſuch an
" army, led by ſuch a King, we bid defiance to the
" power of enemies, yet fortune may change on a
" ſudden, and blaſt our faireſt hopes."

We are indebted to Arrian for this intereſting ſpeech. Though the texture of it is evidently the work of the hiſtorian, it is nevertheleſs exceedingly valuable, as it may be ſuppoſed to be a juſt repreſentation, both of the manner of thinking of Alexander's army, and of the many miſeries, which his boaſted conqueſts had brought even upon his own ſubjects; the ſtrength of Greece being waſted in a foreign land, whilſt the domeſtic weal was abandoned to the rage of ſtruggling factions!

The impreſſion Coenus's ſpeech made on the army.

As ſoon as Coenus had ended, a murmur of applauſe ran through the whole aſſembly. And, what was moſt affecting, the tender ſentiments, with which their hearts were impreſſed, being all awakened by this pathetic oration, moſt of theſe gallant warriors appeared bathed in tears [a].

Alexander's reſentment, and reproaches.

Alexander, nevertheleſs, remained unmoved, and flung from the aſſembly, with marks of ſtrong reſentment.

[a] Arrian, L. v. c. 28.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

Next day he convened them again. "I ſhall go "on," ſaid he to them; "but I ſhall not deſire a "Macedonian to follow me. There are *men* who "will not deſert their King. Return home when "you pleaſe; and inform your countrymen, that you "have left Alexander in the midſt of hoſtile nations."

Retiring then to his tent, he remained ſhut up until the third day, not even his friends being allowed admittance.

He expected, that the love, which he knew his army bore to him, and the dread of his diſpleaſure, would make them deſiſt from their purpoſe. No ſymptom of this appearing, he endeavoured to intereſt their ſuperſtition. Sacrifices were appointed, and the entrails of victims conſulted; but the prieſts deſerted him on this occaſion. Thus beſet with difficulties, he at length acquieſced; and, to the great joy of his army, gave directions that they ſhould prepare to return [50].

Attempts to work on their ſuperſtitions;

fails;

ſeems to yield to the wishes of his army.

His vanity, and folly.

His vanity, however, ſtill diſplayed itſelf. He contrived to have arms much larger than his men could wield, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horſes required, left buried in the earth, or ſcattered throughout the territory that had ſet bounds to his conqueſts. He cauſed alſo twelve altars of an amazing ſize to be raiſed on the eaſtern ſide of the Hyphaſis, and a camp to be laid out upon a much larger ſcale than uſual. All this, to induce afterages to believe, that himſelf and his men had the might and ſtature of giants. And on theſe altars, if we are

[50] Arrian, ubi ſup.

to believe Philoſtratus, were left inſcriptions ſuitable to the folly and arrogance of the builder: — "to father "Hammon" — "to brother Hercules" — to brother Apollo [51]."

We are almoſt tempted to queſtion the veracity of ancient hiſtorians, when they recite exceſſes of ſuch palpable abſurdity [52].

[51] Philoſt. de vitâ Apoll. Tyan. L. ii. c. 15.

[52] About this time died Coenus, much lamented by the whole army, to whom he was juſtly dear, and even mourned by Alexander himſelf, who could not but honor * the probity and noble ſpirit of this generous ſoldier.

* Quintus Curtius puts, nevertheleſs, a ſilly jeſt in Alexander's mouth on the occaſion.

See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 3.

BOOK I.

SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

Alexander viſits the Indian ocean — Returns by the inhoſpitable tract of Gadroſia — The loſs he ſuſtains — Iniquitous conduct and puniſhment of the governors he had appointed — His army mutinies — He reduces them to obedience — Hephaeſtion dies — Alexander's exceſſes on that occaſion — Returns to Babylon — Is diſtreſſed by ill-boding omens — Has recourſe to intemperance — Dies — His character — The judgment to be formed of his achievements; and the benefits of which they have been productive.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

Alexander, in his way homeward, prepares to viſit the Indian ocean.

IT might well be ſuppoſed, that Alexander's buſy and loſty ſpirit would not long remain eaſy under reſtraints, to which nothing but the neceſſity of his affairs had made him ſubmit. His reſtleſs ambition began [1] immediately to ſeek for new objects. And new objects ſoon opened to his view. The part of India he had traverſed is interſected by five great navigable rivers, which, he was told, after taking their courſe through many nations, not leſs rich and populous than thoſe he had viſited, diſcharged themſelves into a vaſt ocean abounding with prodigies. Every circumſtance made him eager to attempt the

[1] Arrian, L. vi. c. 1 & ſeq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. ix, c. 3. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 10.

enterprise. The Greeks also, naturally curious, and who were assured they might return by this route into Persia, were not averse from an expedition, which, besides other advantages, seemed to bring them on their way towards their native country.

Falls down the Hydaspes.

A Fleet was accordingly fitted out, and the command of it given to Nearchus, with directions to fall down the Hydaspes, whilst the army moved along its banks; Alexander himself embarking with a party of cavalry and a considerable body of cuiraſſiers. They had continued their navigation for some days, when an accident, of which he had been apprized by the natives of the country, had nearly put an end to his whole project. The rivers of this part of India fall the one into the other [2], and at every confluence

[2] We have, from the accurate Arrian (vi. 14.) an exact account of these several confluences. The five rivers of this part of India are the Indus, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis. Upon the confluence of the Hydaspis and Acesines, the name of the former is lost, and the river takes that of Acesines; it is afterwards joined by the Hydraotes, and then by the Hyphasis, still retaining the name of Acesines, and at last falls into the Indus; under which name all these waters conjoined empty themselves into the sea. According to Ctesias (See Arrian, v. 3, 4.) the Indus is in one part upwards of twelve miles (a hundred furlongs) in breadth, and upwards of five miles (forty furlongs) where narrowest; and yet is far inferior to the Ganges. According to Onesicritus, who was commander of the ship in which Alexander was, Strabo tells us (xv. p. 482.) that the Indus is in one part two hundred furlongs, about twenty-five miles, in breadth. Besides the rivers above-mentioned, eleven more, making fifteen in all, fall into the Indus. See Arrian, v. 6.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

the meeting of the waters cauſes a ferment, which few veſſels are able to reſiſt. When, therefore, the Macedonian fleet reached the confluence of the Aceſines and Hydaſpes, ſeveral veſſels found themſelves caught abruptly by whirling eddies; ſome were overſet, and moſt of them ſhattered. At length, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, they got clear by dint of their oars.

Dangers of this navigation.

Hitherto they had ſeen only a few ſcattered Indians, who abandoned their habitations at the firſt approach of an enemy. The Macedonians now began to enter a diſtrict inhabited by a people, who appeared to have more civilized manners, and to be well acquainted with the cultivation of land. Theſe were named the Malli. Alexander immediately landed, and prepared to march againſt them, forming his army into three diviſions, that the natives, who eluded the one, might be intercepted by the other. The Malli were a harmleſs people, of great ſimplicity of life, who had never heard of Alexander or his exploits; who had not even been ſubjected to the Perſian yoke, to whoſe name probably they were ſtrangers; and who, ſince the days of Bacchus, according to their tradition, had lived in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties, conformably to their own laws. Conquerors pay little regard to circumſtances like theſe. The ſon of Olympias ſtill went on, ravaging the country, and ſacking every fortified place that did not open its gates to him. One city ſtill remained unſubdued, which had the advantage of ſome kind of fortreſs; and here a great part of the Malli had taken refuge. Thither Alexander marched

Attacks the Malli.

his forces; and, finding a more vigorous reſiſtance than his impetuous ſpirit could brook, he commanded ladders to be applied, and the walls to be ſcaled, mounting himſelf the foremoſt. The ladders being too ſlender to ſuſtain the weight of the numbers who crowded after the King, broke down juſt as Alexander and three of his guards had reached the top of the battlements. Here they ſtood alone, in a critical ſituation, unable to execute any thing effectual, and expoſed to all the weapons of the beſieged. The danger in which Alexander found himſelf, made him bolder and more reſolute; and, without loſing a moment in deliberation, he undauntedly leaped from the battlements into the city; his three attendants, to whom the King's raſh deed left no choice, following him. They lighted on their feet; but this availed them little. They were at once ſurrounded by crowds of combatants; and though they ſtruck down as many as durſt approach them, a freſh ſupply of enemies ſtill preſſed on; and ſtones, and darts, and javelins, poured in upon them from every ſide. Abreas, one of Alexander's men, was already ſlain, and the two others, Peuceſtas and Leonnatus, dangerouſly wounded, when the King received a javelin in his breaſt; which brought him almoſt lifeleſs to the ground; his two companions, though nearly diſabled by their own wounds, covered him with their ſhields and bodies. The report of Alexander's danger having run through the army, the ſoldiers, frantic at the thoughts of loſing their Prince, burſt into the city at different places; ſome ſcrambling up the walls, others beating down

Is in danger of loſing his life.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

the gates; when, putting to the ſword all they met, without diſtinction of age or ſex, they made their way to the ſpot where the King lay. Their firſt care was to remove him to his tent, and to cut out the head of the javelin, which, being barbed, required a large inciſion to be made. The plentiful effuſion of blood occaſioned by the operation, threw Alexander into a ſwoon, and for ſome minutes it was doubtful whether he had not expired; but he ſoon revived, and from the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution, and the care taken of him, he was in a ſhort time re-eſtabliſhed, and enabled to ſhow himſelf again to his army, who would ſcarcely believe their Prince was alive, till they were permitted to approach his perſon. All that remained of the Malli, as if to atone for the ſhare they had in the accident, ſubmitted; and their example was followed by the Oxydracae, another nation not far diſtant [1].

The Malli ſubmit,

and the Oxydracae.

Alexander's inclination for war and conqueſt was not in the leaſt impaired by his recent unfortunate adventure; he ſtill continued his military operations, marking out for deſtruction every people that dared to reſiſt the power of his arms. What devaſtation this muſt have produced, among nations ſuch as we have deſcribed, fond of freedom, and unacquainted with the Macedonian method of waging war, it is eaſy to judge. Beſides a number of large diſtricts totally depopulated by the flight of the inhabitants to the neighbouring deſerts, not leſs than ſeven great

Alexander ſpread devaſtation through this part of India;

[1] Moſt of the ancient hiſtorians ſuppoſe this adventure to have happened in the city of the Oxydracae. It appears from Arrian (vi. 11.) that they are miſtaken.

nations[4] were forced to accept whatever terms the conqueror thought proper to impoſe. And Muſicanus, one of their kings, who is ſaid to have been the moſt conſiderable of the princes of the country, having endeavoured to throw off the yoke, was purſued by his foe, taken, and crucified alive[5], in the midſt of his own territories, together with ſeveral of the Brachmans[6], or Indian ſages, who, in their

crucifies an Indian king, and his faithful Brachmans;

[4] Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, tells us, that this country, which he now ſubdued, was three times as large as what he had ſubdued before between the Hydaſpes and the Hyphaſis.

[5] Arrian, L. vi. c. 15, 16.

[6] Theſe Brachmans or Bramins appear to have been a very different order of men from what modern writers repreſent them. "Tels," ſays Abbé Raynal, (L. i. c. 4.) "ſont les "deſcendants des anciens Brachmanes, dont l'antiquité ne "parle qu'avec admiration, parceque l'affectation de l'auſtérité "& du myſtère, & le privilége de parler aux rois du ciel, "en impoſe au vulgaire dans tous les ſiècles. C'étoit à eux "que les Grecs attribuoient le dogme de l'immortalité de "l'ame, les idées ſur la nature du grand être, ſur les peines "& les recompenſes futures — On regardoit les Brachmanes "comme les amis des dieux; parcequ'ils paroiſſoient s'en "occuper beaucoup, & comme les protecteurs des hommes, "parcequ'ils ne s'en occupoient point du tout." Both Strabo and Arrian ſpeak of them in another manner. Their chief employment was *the public good*; to obſerve the ſeaſons, and to communicate their obſervations to the people; and, on all occaſions of important and national concern, to deliver their advice with fidelity. The Brachman, who had thrice been guilty of giving counſel that had not proved ſalutary, was condemned to ſilence for life. Their diſcipline, beſides, was exceedingly ſevere; and their tenets concerning the Creator and Governor of the univerſe, the immortality of the

BOOK I.

zeal for their ancient liberties, had encouraged him to revolt.

Sect. 3. enters the Indus;

The fleet had now entered the Indus, which, says Arrian, after receiving the waters of all the other rivers of this part of India, empties itself by two great channels into the Indian ocean. The mariners soon discovered, by the swell of the river, that the sea

soul, and a future state, were not unworthy of the Grecian school. Their reproof of Alexander is memorable. A number of them were assembled in a field as he passed; and at sight of him began to stamp on the ground with great vehemence. He sent to know the reason. "To every man," they answered, "is such a portion of earth allotted, as we are measuring out "with our feet. Thou, O King, shalt have no more: and "yet, led on by an idle curiosity, and regardless of justice, "art thou traversing from country to country, without allowing "rest either to thyself or to thy fellow-creatures." He would have prevailed on Dandamis, the principal of the Indian sages, to come to him, bidding his messengers tell him, that he was the son of Jupiter, and had it in his power to reward or to punish him. "I am," replied the sage, "the son of "Jupiter as well as he; as to his rewards, he has none to "give; for he has not enough to satisfy himself; and as for "his punishments, the utmost he can do, is, to relieve "me from a body worn out with age, and to remove me to "a state of perfect happiness." However, Calanus, another "Brachman, was persuaded to attend Alexander, and for some time accompanied him; but being seized by an acute disorder, he raised a pile of wood, and burnt himself on it. It appears, nevertheless, that the Indian Brachmans condemned Calanus, both for departing from that simplicity of manners he had been accustomed to, in order to partake of the luxuries of the royal table; and for putting an end to a life over which he had no dominion.

See Strabo, L. xv. p. 490 & seq. & Arrian, L. vii. c. 1, 2. & Hist. Ind. xi.

was not far distant, and gave notice to the King, that they already perceived the breezes of the ocean. Alexander, rejoiced to find that he should shortly behold the object of his wishes, encouraged his seamen to use their oars with redoubled efforts. As they were endeavouring to execute these orders, they found themselves involved in a new distress, which their ignorance rendered exceedingly alarming. Accustomed to the gentle ebb and flow of the Mediterranean, they had no notion of the strong ocean-tides. Accordingly, when they saw the current bear against them, and the waters to rise on every side, and overspread the banks, they imagined it was an indication of the anger of the gods, and that they were guilty of impiety, in thus attempting to pry into the secrets of nature. This, however, was little to the consternation that followed. The sea, at the turn of the tide, retreating, their vessels were left either aground, or stuck fast in the mud, the keels and oars of many of them much damaged, and the shores covered with arms and baggage; so that the whole had the appearance of a wreck, and they began to despair of being ever able to get off. The return of the tide relieved them from their anxiety, and taught them what they were until this time strangers to.

reaches the ocean;

is surprised at the ocean-tides;

Alexander ordered himself to be rowed into this vast ocean, for the purpose of making new discoveries; and, after doing little more than gratifying an unbounded curiosity, prepared to march his army back into Persia, whilst Nearchus was to continue his navigation along the coasts of the Persian gulph,

sends Nearchus to make observations;

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

and afterwards up the Euphrates, by which he was directed to return. It is ſuppoſed, that Alexander ſpent ten months[7], from the time of his embarking on the Hydaſpes, in this fruitleſs expedition. He cloſed his progreſs on this ſide with a prayer well worthy of remembrance. It marks ſtrongly the extravagant ſpirit of this adventurous and ambitious Prince. He beſought the gods, "that no man might "paſs beyond the limits that he had reached[8]."

prepares to return; his prayer;

The route, which he choſe for the return of his army, was of all others the moſt difficult. It lay moſtly through burning ſands, in many parts of which no water was to be found, no ſupply of food to be obtained, nor the track of traveller to be ſeen. The army ſoon experienced all the miſeries to be met with in ſuch a dreary march. Numbers of his men were either overwhelmed in the hot ſands, or periſhed from fatigue or hunger, or both. Their carriages became no longer of uſe, the roads in ſeveral places not admitting them; their cattle periſhed, or were killed for food; ſo that the immenſe treaſure the army had collected together, at the price of ſo much blood, was now thrown away by the ſoldiers, as a painful incumbrance. This inhoſpitable tract was called Gadroſia. One might be at a loſs to conjecture what could prompt Alexander to ſuch a route, when a much better lay before him. Arrian accounts for it. According to the tradition of Indians, Semiramis

enters Gadroſia; the difficulties he meets with.

[7] Plutarch ſays ſeven only. Abp. Uſher ſhows he is miſtaken. See Uſſer. Annal. 371.

[8] Plutarch in Alexand.

and Cyrus had paſſed this way; and whatever any great perſon had performed, the ſon of Philip was determined not to be exceeded in. Semiramis, as tradition bore, loſt her whole army in this deſert, twenty men excepted; and Cyrus had eſcaped with ſeven only. Alexander therefore had an advantage over them: the march coſt *him* but two months, and only three fourths of his army. From Plutarch it appears, that above one hundred thouſand of his men periſhed in this [9] wild expedition.

Alexander's generous conduct;

In the courſe of it, however, there happened an incident, which Arrian [10] relates, much to Alexander's praiſe. Some ſoldiers had gone in queſt of water; and, having diſcovered a little brook, with difficulty procured a ſmall quantity of the element, and brought it to the King: though oppreſſed with thirſt, he refuſed to accept a relief, which he could not ſhare among his army; and, with much commendation of the zeal of thoſe who brought it, generouſly poured it on the ground. Every man found it leſs difficult to ſuſtain hardſhips, when he ſaw the King endure them equally with the meaneſt ſoldier. A like ſtory is related by Plutarch, which, poſſibly from miſtake, he aſcribes to another perſon.

he enters Carmania.

The Macedonians at length entered the plentiful country of Carmania, where they were ſupplied in abundance with proviſions of every kind; orders

[9] He entered this part of India with a hundred and twenty thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe, and did not bring back above one fourth part of them. Plutarch in Alexand.

[10] L. vii. c. 26.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

having been previouſly diſpatched to the neighbouring governors, to furniſh all manner of refreſhments, together with carriages and beaſts of burden to replace thoſe that had been loſt. Here Alexander ſpent ſome days in celebrating public ſports, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving for the ſignal deliverance vouchſafed to him and his army. It is, probably, this ſolemnity of which ſome ancient writers have given us ſo romantic a deſcription. They would have us believe, that Alexander cauſed his ſoldiers to celebrate a feaſt to Bacchus for ſeven days, in memory of their Prince having, like the god, returned victorious from the Indies; and his whole army, in imitation of the Bacchanals, exhibited a frantic proceſſion through the nations lately conquered, with ſhouts of uproar and riot, and all the ridiculous gambols of which the greateſt intoxication can be productive; the King in perſon leading the diſſolute dance. Had one thouſand ſober men, ſays Curtius [11], attacked this wild multitude, the defeat of the latter had been inevitable. But from Arrian [12] it appears, that this account, though ſupported by no leſs an authority than that of Diodorus and Plutarch, is merely an idle fiction. An inſtructive leſſon, how cautious we ought to be in admitting what many ancient writers have recorded.

Fabulous account of the feaſt celebrated here by him.

Alexander, no doubt, like all founders of a new empire, had pleaſed himſelf with the fond idea, that this vaſt fabric of power, which he was laboring to

Confuſed ſtate of the conquered provinces,

[11] See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 10.

[12] See Arrian, L. vi. c. 28.

eſtabliſh,

eſtabliſh, would laſt for ages. He now had the fulleſt evidence of the vanity of his hopes. It was but the eleventh year of his reign, and the fifth ſince the overthrow of Darius; and repeated accounts were brought to him from every quarter, of the confuſion which had already ariſen in many of his provinces [13]; in ſome, from the unſubdued ſpirit of the people [14], in moſt of them, from the oppreſſive and tyrannical exceſſes of the governors whom he had appointed over them. Theſe, it ſeems, expected not that Alexander was ever to return from the Indies; and therefore treated with contempt eſtabliſhments which he could no longer enforce. Alexander behaved on this occaſion with becoming firmneſs and reſentment. He inquired into the ſeveral complaints; and, where guilt was found, puniſhed the delinquents with the utmoſt ſeverity. Proofs were exhibited, of groſs dilapidations and acts of violence having been committed by Clitander, Sitalcas, and Heracon, who commanded in Media: they were all put to death [15]. They had aſſiſted in the murder of Parmenio; on which account, hiſtorians tell us, the whole army, even many of the King's neareſt friends, witneſſed their execution with pleaſure [16]. "Vengeance for that innocent blood," ſaid they, "has juſtly overtaken them." Abulites, and his

and from what cauſes.

He puniſhes the iniquitous governors.

[13] Plutarch in Alexand.

[14] Philip, whom he had appointed governor of Indoſtan, had been ſlain by his own guards. See Arrian, v. 27.

[15] Arrian, ubi ſup.

[16] See Quint. Cur. x. 1.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

ſon Oxathres [17], to whom the care of Suſa was intruſted, had proved unfaithful: they both ſuffered in like manner. Orxines [18] had plundered the province of Perſia, of which he held the government, not ſparing even the temples, and putting to death all perſons, however innocent, who happened to be obnoxious to him: he was crucified. Even the tomb of Cyrus, which was filled with various treaſures of ineſtimable value, and in which the body of that conqueror lay incloſed in a caſe of gold, had not eſcaped the rapacious hand of violence. After much inquiry, it was diſcovered, that the plunderer was Polymachus [19], a Macedonian of diſtinction, born in Pella, Alexander's native city: regardleſs of his quality, the King ordered his execution. In this liſt of criminals, one of the moſt remarkable was Harpalus. Alexander, to whom he was particularly dear [20], on account of his attachment to him whilſt Philip was living, had appointed him guardian of the treaſures in Babylon. This important truſt was a temptation which he was not capable of reſiſting. He abandoned himſelf to a ſhameful diſſoluteneſs, and ſquandered away a conſiderable portion of the wealth committed to his care. Accordingly, when,

Harpalus plunders the treaſures at Babylon.

[17] Arrian, L. vii. c. 4. Plutarch calls him Oxyartes. According to this hiſtorian, Alexander was ſo enraged againſt him, that he ſtabbed him with his own hand. See Plutarch in Alexand.

[18] Arrian, L. vi. c. 30. Quint. Cur. (x. 1.) gives a very different turn to this ſtory. We follow Arrian.

[19] Plut. in Alexand.

[20] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 6.

contrary to his expectations, he found that Alexander was on his return to Babylon, he collected together a band of mercenaries, and, taking five thouſand talents with him, fled into Greece. The fate, which he juſtly deſerved, ſoon afterwards overtook him. He was killed in Crete, by ſome perſons in whom he confided [21].

and flees to Greece.

His death.

Alexander weds the daughter of Darius;

After viſiting the adjacent provinces, and applying what remedies ſeemed moſt expedient in their preſent turbulent ſtate, Alexander directed his march to Suſa, where, upon his arrival, he married Statira, daughter of Darius. Arrian [22] calls her Barſine, or, according to ſome readings, Arſinoe. Her ſiſter, Paryſatis, by ſome named Drypetis, he gave to Hephaeſtion; and at the ſame time diſpoſed of eighty of the principal Perſian ladies in marriage to his chief officers, on all of whom he beſtowed rich dowries, ſuitable to their noble birth. In addition to the public joy, Nearchus, who had the command of the naval expedition, and of whoſe ſafety Alexander had deſpaired, returned to Suſa, with an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage, and of the diſcoveries he had made; which, in the preſent infant ſtate of navigation among the Greeks, were highly celebrated.

gives the principal Perſian ladies in marriage to his officers.

Nearchus returns.

That his whole army might ſhare in the general happineſs [23], he preſented every Grecian ſoldier, who had married Aſiatic women (and theſe

Alexander's liberality to his army.

[21] Plutarch in Alexand. & Demoſthene. Athenaei Deipnoſph. L. xiii. p. 594.

[22] See Arrian, L. 5. vii. c. 4.

[23] Plut. in Alexand. Arrian, L. vii. c. 5.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

amounted to ten thouſand in number) with conſiderable ſums of money. The debts likewiſe of his army he declared he would diſcharge, and deſired to have a ſtate of them laid before him. But, finding many of his men were unwilling to diſcover minutely how their debts had been contracted, he demanded only the names of their reſpective creditors, and the ſeveral ſums at large; and in this manner diſcharged the whole, though the ſum amounted to twenty thouſand talents. Thoſe, beſides, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any particular military exploit, he honored with rich donatives, ſuch as crowns of gold, and other rewards of great value.

What he had in view.

Alexander's generoſity appears here to advantage; he had, beſides, in view to ſmooth national prejudices, which kept the haughty Greeks at a diſtance from the Aſiatics; and, as the Macedonians and Perſians were now governed by one common ſovereign, to make them by degrees coaleſce into one people: but he ſoon found this was not ſo eaſily to be accompliſhed.

His plan for the recruiting of his army;

He had given directions[24] to the ſeveral governors to train to military exerciſe a number of youths in their reſpective provinces, and to have them diſciplined after the Macedonian manner, in order that he might always have a ſupply of ſoldiers in readineſs, whenever caſualties or years ſhould render his own men unfit for ſervice. Thirty thouſand of theſe recruits having accordingly been brought to Suſa, he iſſued orders, that the ſame number of Macedo-

[24] Arrian, L. vii. c. 6 & ſeq. Plutarch in Alexand.

nians, who were become leſs able to endure the fatigues of war, ſhould have permiſſion to return home. It had been eaſy to have given a favorable interpretation to this meaſure; but to the Greeks, who were already exaſperated at ſeeing the Aſiatics poſſeſs ſo large a portion of the royal favor, it appeared in the moſt odious light; and a general mutiny immediately enſued. "Their former ſervices," they ſaid, "were no longer remembered — no "account taken of the dangers they had encountered, "and the toils they had undergone — the objects of "Alexander's regard were now the effeminate Per- "ſians — he imitated their dreſs; he ſpoke their "language; he adopted their manners — their "ſoldiers were now to be inrolled among the "Macedonian veterans, and to carry away thoſe "honors, which the latter had purchaſed at the "price of their blood — let us all be diſcharged "together — we ſcorn to ſerve under the banners of "a prince, who is now an alien to his country — "and, ſhould he have any more wars to carry on, "let them be carried on by his father Hammon and "himſelf."

mutiny occaſioned by it:

Alexander could contain himſelf no longer: for, it ſeems, theſe bold remonſtrances were made in his preſence. Starting from his tribunal, with his own hands he ſeized thirteen of the moſt guilty mutineers, whom he ordered to inſtant execution. Then, taking advantage of the conſternation into which this act of vigor had thrown his army, in the moſt ſpirited manner he reproached them with the ungrateful return they made for all he had done for them;

Alexander quells it by his firmneſs;

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

and, at the concluſion of his ſpeech, abruptly left the aſſembly, retired to his tent, and commanded, that his perſon ſhould henceforward be intruſted to Perſian guards, and that the different corps of Aſiatic troops ſhould hold the ſame rank, and enjoy the ſame privileges, which the Macedonians had lately poſſeſſed.

The King's firmneſs on this occaſion had its full effect. The Macedonians were naturally attached to his perſon; and, notwithſtanding the deep ſhades that darkened his character, his brighter qualities, which were moſtly of the popular kind, his bravery eſpecially, and munificent ſpirit, were held in the higheſt eſtimation. Above all, they could not bear to be thus indignantly debarred from his preſence, and excluded from his favor and confidence. For three days, during which time he kept himſelf ſhut up, they remained immoveable around his tent, bewailing, in the moſt affecting manner, their indiſcretion; they threw their arms from them, as if unworthy to carry them longer; and declared, they would never quit the place, until reſtored to their ſovereign's favor and forgiveneſs. Alexander, at length, was prevailed on to ſhow himſelf. At ſight of their prince, the Macedonians burſt into the moſt affectionate lamentations; Alexander himſelf began to ſoften; he melted alſo into tears; he permitted his people to approach him, to embrace him. What had afflicted his countrymen moſt deeply, they told him, was, that he had withdrawn his regard from them, and permitted the Perſians to be his kinſmen. "You are all my kinſmen," replied Alexander, and

receives his army again into favor, upon their repentance;

"from this day it is the name by which I ſhall diſtin-
"guiſh you." By the laws of Macedon, the king's kindred had a right to ſalute him, and they were all accordingly admitted to that honor.

makes a common banquet for his ſoldiers of every nation;

A ſumptuous banquet ſealed the reconciliation; the King entertaining nine thouſand gueſts at one time. From the order of the entertainment, of which we have an account in Arrian [25], it appears, that he had not loſt ſight of his favorite ſcheme of coalition. In the moſt honorable place were the Macedonians; next to them the Perſians; and after the Perſians other Nations. In conjunction with the Grecian ſoothſayers, the Perſian magi were employed in offering up vows for the proſperity and union of all the inhabitants of his empire. One common bowl was brought, out of which King and people performed their libations; and at the concluſion was ſung a paean, or ſong of praiſe to the Immortal Gods, Greeks, as well as Barbarians, joining in the chorus.

in what view;

diſmiſſes his diſabled veterans in the moſt honorable manner;

It was then ſettled [26], that as many Greeks and Macedonians as were become unequal to the fatigues of the field, ſhould have permiſſion to return home. This permiſſion was attended with every mark of diſtinction the old ſoldiers could poſſibly deſire. Not only their arrears were punctually cleared off, they likewiſe received a talent each, beſides money ſufficient to defray their expenſes to Greece. Inſtructions were, at the ſame time, diſpatched to Macedon,

[25] L. vii. c. 11.

[26] Arrian, L. vii. c. 12. Plut. in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

that at all ſolemnities they ſhould have places of pre-eminence aſſigned to them; that they ſhould be free from all impoſts; and that whatever privileges were conferred on them, ſhould, upon their death, be enjoyed by their children. This grateful remembrance of the ſervices of his brave veterans, exhibits Alexander to us in a very advantageous point of view.

and appoints Craterus to command them.

What rendered this notice of the King of greater value, was, the choice of the perſon to whom his men were given in charge. Craterus was named to this ſervice, an officer of the firſt diſtinction in the Macedonian armies, and who was known to be highly eſteemed by Alexander. The appointment of ſuch an officer the veterans conſidered as a particular honor done to themſelves.

The government of Macedon intended for Craterus.

It was the King's intention, that Craterus, upon his arrival in Greece, ſhould ſucceed Antipater, and that Antipater ſhould paſs into Aſia. Many think, that the repeated complaints preferred by Olympias, whoſe ambitious and intriguing ſpirit was impatient of the control under which Antipater held her, had occaſioned his being ſuperſeded; and that ſevere meaſures were actually in agitation againſt him. Whatever views Alexander had, he did not live to carry them into execution.

Hephaeſtion dies;

Soon after this tranſaction, he loſt Hephaeſtion, who died of a fever in Ecbatana; a loſs which Alexander ſeems to have borne with great agitation of mind. In others he ſaw the dependents of his fortune, in Hephaeſtion he poſſeſſed a friend. "Cra-
" terus loves the King," he was wont to ſay, "but

"Hephaeſtion loves Alexander [27]." This tender connexion, ſubſiſting from their earlieſt years, had never ſuffered the leaſt diminution. Though he lived with the King on the moſt familiar terms, and was admitted to his moſt ſecret councils, he enjoyed the royal favor without inſolence, and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, without exciting envy. How temperately he uſed his power, may be gathered from the two following inſtances: A muſician, of whom he was fond, had poſſeſſed himſelf of certain quarters, to which Eumenes, an officer of note, and at this time ſecretary to the King, laid claim [28]. Hephaeſtion ſupported his favorite; Eumenes had the ſpirit to oppoſe Hephaeſtion, and, upon an appeal to the King, carried the point againſt him. Some time after, Hephaeſtion differed on ſome occaſion with Craterus [29], and this diſpute was conducted with ſuch heat, that, had not the King interpoſed his authority, it probably had ended fatally. Nevertheleſs, it does not appear, that either Craterus or Eumenes were afterwards leſs in favor with Alexander, or that Hephaeſtion ever employed his influence to their prejudice. He ſeems, indeed, to have been much beloved by the whole army, not only for thoſe affable qualities, which adorn the courtier, but alſo for his military abilities, having accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions, and been frequently employed by him in the moſt arduous enterpriſes.

his character.

[27] Plut. in Alexand.

[28] Plutarch in Eumene.

[29] Plutarch.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

Alexander's paſſionate exceſſes on this occaſion;

The extravagances, however, of Alexander[30], on this occaſion, are not to be juſtified. When he found that Hephaeſtion had expired, in a paroxyſm of grief he threw himſelf on the dead body, from which his friends could ſcarcely remove him. Thoſe perſons who had attended his favorite in his laſt illneſs, became objects of his reſentment, as if it had been owing to them that Hephaeſtion died. In his phrenſy, he accuſed even the gods for not having preſerved a life ſo dear to him. The ſacred fires were extinguiſhed throughout all Aſia, which was never before done but upon the King's death; "an "omen of dark import," the Aſiatics obſerved, "to Alexander himſelf." Not contented with celebrating Hephaeſtion's obſequies with all poſſible magnificence, and erecting a ſumptuous monument to his memory at an immenſe expenſe, he ſent to the temple of Hammon to inquire, whether Hephaeſtion ought not to be ranked among the demigods. The oracle, too complaiſant not to gratify the King, anſwered as Aſia's monarch wiſhed. Hephaeſtion accordingly was pronounced a demigod, and had ſuitable honors appointed to him[31].

He comes to Babylon.

Alexander had now come to Babylon, where a number of ambaſſadors from different nations, in conſequence of the fame of his achievements, were expecting his return[32]. It might be imagined, that

[30] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 14. Plutarch in Alexand.

[31] Alexander's extravagance upon the loſs of Hephaeſtion, might have been ſuggeſted by his progenitor Achilles's behaviour upon the loſs of Patroclus.

[32] It appears from Arrian (vii. 15.) that two ancient writers

to a mind such as his, naturally vain and fond of homage, this kind of pomp must have afforded the highest gratification. He notwithstanding appears to have relished it very imperfectly [13]. The death of Hephaestion, together with certain anticipations of his own approaching fate, had made deep impression on his mind. As he drew near to Babylon, he met certain Chaldean soothsayers, who besought him not to enter the city, which then lay to the west of him; or, if he did, to go round, and to enter with his face to the eastward; otherwise some fatal destiny threatened to overtake him. But the line, which they had pointed out, being found impracticable, his pride would not suffer him to return back, and he ventured into Babylon by the very way which was forbidden [14]. Anaxarchus, the philosopher, had endeavoured to reason with his master against idle apprehensions, and to ridicule the boasted skill of these pretended diviners: the King seemed to listen to him with some degree of attention; but it was evident, that his mind enjoyed neither ease nor composure.

Gloomy state of Alexander's mind.

In order to dissipate these melancholy thoughts, Alexander began to meditate an expedition against

He endeavours to dissipate his melancholy

of Alexander's history, Aristaeus and Asclepiades, related, that among the embassies to Alexander, there was also one from Rome. Other historians make no mention of it.

[13] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 16.

[14] The rich revenues belonging to Belus were enjoyed by the Chaldeans, until his temple was re-built; and therefore they endeavoured to keep Alexander from entering Babylon, lest he should urge on a work which it was not their interest to

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

the Arabians[35], who had been guilty of the inſolence of ſending him no embaſſy; and to ſet on foot a number of new works for beautifying Babylon, now intended for the ſeat of empire. Among other undertakings, he propoſed to confine the Euphrates to its natural bed. The waters of this river had, for ſome ages, been ſuffered to overflow its banks; the adjacent country was greatly damaged, and this province, once the loveliеſt of Aſia, was declining faſt into an inhoſpitable moraſs. That he might judge what works were neceſſary, Alexander had a number of veſſels prepared, proper for paſſing the guts, and ſailed himſelf along the ſeveral banks to the place where the breach, according to report, had firſt been made. This excurſion, far from adminiſtering to him that amuſement which he expected, took a very different turn. In the courſe of his expedition, a guſt of wind blew the royal fillet from the King's head to ſome diſtance, where the monuments of the ancient Aſſyrian kings were erected, and it fell intangled among the reeds that grew round the ſepulchres. One of the ſailors leaped into the river, and, having recovered it, faſtened

by an excurſion from Babylon;

fails.

have finiſhed. As to the King's going round, and entering with his face to the eaſt, they well knew, that the fens on that ſide had made the road impracticable. See Arrian, L. vii. c. 17.

[35] It appears from Arrian (vii. 20.) that his principal view in this expedition was, to compel the Arabians to acknowledge him for one of their gods; they had, he had been told, only two gods; *the heaven*, on account of its being the abode of that beneficent luminary the ſun; and *Bacchus*, on account

it inadvertently round his own head [36], in order to bring it back with greater safety.

Sect. 3.

His melancholy increases;

These incidents, of little moment to a mind sound and properly instructed, the superstition of the times pronounced to be omens full of terror; and the King's imagination, already distempered, failed not to lay hold of them.

he returns to Babylon;

In this dejected state he re-entered Babylon, where a similar train of dire presages still pursued him. Over his head, as he approached the city, was fought a battle of crows, some of whom fell dead at his feet [37]; one of the largest lions kept in Babylon, had been kicked to death by an ass. The governor of Babylon had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning his sovereign, and the liver of the victim was found not to have a head. What threatened disaster more than all, the King having undressed, as was customary to him, for the purpose of partaking in some athletic sports, when his attendants went to fetch his clothes, they found a stranger (some lunatic, probably, who had escaped from his keepers) sitting in profound silence on their master's throne, dressed in his royal robes, with the diadem on his head; who, upon examination, pronounced, that the

meets with sinister omens;

of his exploits in the Indies; "and therefore," said he, "as "my exploits have not been inferior to those of Bacchus, I "likewise have a right to be worshipped by them."

[36] To avert the omen of this casual usurpation of the diadem, the Chaldean soothsayers, according to some historians, directed, that the officious sailor should be rewarded with a talent, and afterwards put to death.

[37] Plutarch in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

god Serapis had conducted him thither, and had ordered him to array himself in that attire, and to sit there in solemn silence. This madman, by the direction of the soothsayers, was put to death [38].

is distressed by them;

From all these circumstances, the anguish of Alexander's mind increased more and more, as if, to use Plutarch's words, in despair of the succours of heaven [39]. And so strongly had fears and anxieties taken hold on him, that every thing which happened, in the least degree strange or unusual, he converted into an evil sign or prodigy.

has recourse to intemperance;

What remedies the religious notions then prevailing directed the use of, expiatory rites and sacrifices, were employed profusely. The court swarmed with purifiers and prognosticators, all exercising their talents in behalf of the royal person. But these affording little relief, he endeavoured to drown reflection in a course of banqueting and intemperance, to which he had of late been much addicted. He had spent one day and part of the night in this manner [40], and was returning home to rest, when Medius, who was now much in his favor, requested the King to honor him at an entertainment he had just prepared. With Medius he continued carousing the remainder of the night; and, after a short repose, renewed the same scene of riot. The consequences of such irregularity might have been easily foreseen. Before Alexander left the company of Medius, he had contracted a

is seized with a fever in consequence of it;

[38] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 18. & Plut. ubi sup.

[39] Δύσελπις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. in Alexand.

[40] Arrian, L. vii. c. 24 & seq.

ſever. He, however, ſlighted it, and for ſome days continued to receive the reports of his chief officers, and to canvaſs with them the ſchemes he was meditating. On the ninth day the violence of his diſtemper had riſen to ſuch a height, that his recovery began to be deſpaired of. His principal officers, alarmed at their ſituation, preſſed him to name a ſucceſſor, in caſe it was their misfortune to loſe him. "The worthieſt," he anſwered; but he "foreſaw, that his obſequies would be obſequies "of blood." his vague manner of appointing his ſucceſſor;

It being now ſpread abroad, that the King was dying, the ſoldiers inſiſted on being admitted to take a laſt farewel of their beloved maſter. He was unable to ſpeak; but, raiſing himſelf up, offered his hand as they paſſed, expreſſing by his looks, notwithſtanding his melancholy ſituation, the pleaſure he took in theſe marks of their affection. On the eleventh day he expired [41], having, ſome minutes before, delivered his royal ſignet to Perdiccas, which by many was conſidered to be a tacit appointment of him as his ſucceſſor. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, being exactly twenty at the time of Philip's death. He left only one ſon, Hercules, by Barſine, daughter to Artabazus, and widow to Memnon. But his wife Roxana was far advanced in her pregnancy; and Statira alſo was ſuppoſed to be in the ſame ſituation. affection of his army towards him; he dies.

It is here highly deſerving of notice, how exactly Remarkable

[41] OLYMP. cxiv. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 323.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

completion of the prophecies concerning Alexander;

what the prophet foretold of Alexander had its accompliſhment. This Prince had been deſtined to overthrow the empire of the Medes and Perſians; which, as ſoon as he had performed, we ſee his power brought to an end, and in the very way the prophet [42] had predicted; *his kingdom broken, and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled.* What is not leſs remarkable, it had been pronounced by the Almighty, that Babylon ſhould be a deſolation, and the temple of Belus *broken unto the ground* [43], never to riſe from its ruins. At the very time Alexander, with every thing in his power for executing what he deſigned, is preparing to raiſe the temple of Belus again, and reſtore Babylon [44] to its ancient ſplendor, his purpoſe is defeated, and the breath of life taken from him.

[42] See Daniel viii. 5, 6, 7. 20, 21, 22. and xi. 4.

[43] See Iſaiah xxi. 9.

[44] In ancient days, Babylon was famed for its commerce and naval power. Originally, the country was a flat moraſs, often overflowed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. Semiramis, the ſuppoſed foundreſs of the Babylonian greatneſs, has the glory of having improved the country, by cutting a number of drains through it, and raiſing embankments to confine the Euphrates within its channel: by theſe labors the river was rendered navigable; and ſhe is ſaid to have had on it a fleet of three thouſand galleys. Nebuchadnezzar carried the improvement much farther; he cauſed two canals to be cut a hundred miles above the city; the firſt on the eaſtern ſide, by which the Euphrates was let into the Tigris, ſo that the city was ſupplied with the produce of the whole country to the north of it, as far as the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and enjoyed alſo the trade of the Perſian gulph, into which the Euphrates opened; this canal was called Naharmalea, or *the Royal River*: the

The

The opinion, that this conqueror was taken off by poiſon, which ſeveral of the ancient writers have adopted, appears from Arrian to be altogether groundleſs. Probably, the precarious ſtate of Antipater's affairs at this juncture, from the ſuſpicions ſaid to be conceived of him, and the powerful inducements he might be ſuppoſed to have, to attack

ſuſpicions of his having been taken off by poiſon, ill founded;

other canal was on the weſtern ſide, and was called Pallacopas, or Naharaga, *the River of the Pool*, by which the redundant waters were carried into a vaſt lake, forty miles ſquare, contrived not only to leſſen the inundation, but alſo as a reſervoir, to water the barren country on the Arabian ſide. Cyrus, in his ſiege of Babylon, by turning the whole river into the lake by the Pallacopas, laid the channel, where it ran through the city, almoſt dry, ſo that his army entered it both above and below by the bed of the river. From the great quantity of water admitted into the lake, the ſluices and dams were much damaged; and the Perſian monarchs, reſiding in their own country, paid no attention to the inconvenience; and beſides, to prevent any invaſion by ſea on that part of their empire, purpoſely obſtructed the navigation of both rivers, by making cataracts in them, that is, by raiſing dams acroſs the channel, and making artificial falls. Alexander began to reſtore the navigation of the rivers, by removing the cataracts upon the Tigris, and repairing the breaches in the Pallacopas; but did not live to finiſh his great deſigns. From his time, the Euphrates, which in ſummer always ſwells from the melting of the ſnows in the mountains of Armenia, had been ſuffered to waſte its waters on the neighbouring country: ſo that this province, once the loveliеſt and richeſt part of Aſia, has by degrees declined again into an inhoſpitable moraſs, in which not the leaſt veſtige of its former ſplendor is to be found. So exactly has the word of the Almighty had its completion. See Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah, 202. 207, 208. See alſo Huet, Hiſtoire du Commerce, ch. xi. and Arrian vii. 21.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

a life from which he had every thing to fear, firſt gave riſe to this report; and the report might be encouraged afterwards by Olympias, who held Antipater and his houſe in utter deteſtation, and who wiſhed his deſtruction.

variety in the accounts we have of him.

Of all the great perſonages of antiquity, whoſe fortunes and exploits have ſo frequently employed the hiſtorical pen, and of whom romantic, and often oppoſite accounts have been delivered to poſterity, there is none more diſtinguiſhed then Alexander. The chaſteſt and moſt conſiſtent of his hiſtorians appears to be Arrian; and yet in him there are matters liable to objection. It is remarkable too, that Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs chiefly Arrian compiled his hiſtory, and who attended Alexander in perſon in all his expeditions, are not always agreed about facts, of which they might be ſuppoſed to be well informed. Poſſibly they ſought to caſt a ſhade over ſome tranſactions, which, for obvious reaſons, they wiſhed had never exiſted.

His character;

What judgment is to be formed of him, may be gathered from the preceding pages. Military glory was certainly his ruling paſſion. And accordingly the virtues, or, to ſpeak more properly, the ſhining qualities, for which he is celebrated, appear to have been moſtly ſuch as belong to the military character — boundleſs munificence — an open frankneſs of diſpoſition — generous attention to the ſituation and wants of his men — an excellent foreſight — daring courage — admirable preſence of mind in the midſt of danger — and a

shining qualities;

wonderful quickneſs, to ſeize every advantage in the day of battle.

Sect. 3.

Together with theſe qualities, he poſſeſſed all the advantages of body, which florid health, natural ſtrength of conſtitution, and conſtant exerciſe, are wont to beſtow. He was patient of fatigue; and in agility, horſemanſhip, dexterity in the management of every warlike weapon, and in capacity for enduring hunger andthirſt, heat and cold, he ſtood without a rival.

advantages of body;

Nor was he wanting in the ſofter virtues which embelliſh the human character. He was capable of all the tenderneſs of friendſhip: of an eaſy, cordial, affectionate deportment to all who approached him; and, notwithſtanding the roughneſs of martial life, he retained, for a conſiderable time, that elegance of ſentiment, which Grecian manners, and the early ſtudy of philoſophy, were calculated to inſpire. He proved his refined feelings in the delicacy with which he treated the princeſſes of the houſe of Darius. He ſhowed it in the extraordinary care he took to protect the Aſiatic nations, whom he conquered, from that rapacity and licentiouſneſs of which the lower military orders are frequently guilty.

humane diſpoſition;

But the Macedonian Prince was ſoon to degenerate from theſe promiſing beginnings, was to become inſolent, oppreſſive, and vain, barbarous, cruel, and the ſport of intemperance and puſillanimity.

faults;

It was Alexander's misfortune, that conqueſt was his darling paſſion; and the ſucceſs he met with encouraged him to proceed. His firſt expedition

cauſes whence they proceeded.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

againſt Darius bore an air of juſtice. The ſervitude to which the Grecian coloniſts had been reduced; the repeated attempts made by the Perſian monarchs againſt the liberties of Greece; and, when the ſuperiority of the Grecian arms had forced them to deſiſt from avowed hoſtilities, the artful manner in which they had endeavoured, by intrigue and corruption, to divide the Greeks among themſelves, and thus to bring the whole nation into a ſtate of humiliation and dependence, furniſhed at leaſt a decent pretext for retaliation: according, therefore, to the uſual maxims of human policy, his invaſion of Perſia might be vindicated. But, when he had a fair opportunity of confining the Perſian monarch within narrower bounds, and of giving independence to all the nations of the Lower Aſia; when he even overthrew the Perſian monarchy, and ſaw himſelf ſeated on the throne of Cyrus; he had not wiſdom to ſtop at this point; the luſt of conqueſt hurrying him on from nation to nation, and from climate to climate, where he had not even the pretence of wrongs to vindicate, or of injuries to redreſs. And probably, had his life been ſpared, there was not a part of the globe to which he would not have carried his arms, and involved in the ravages of war; and "had he not found a man "left to contend with," ſays Arrian, "he had "fought with himſelf."

There is reaſon to believe, that this martial diſpoſition grew up the ſtronger in Alexander, from the impreſſions he received in his youth. The reign of Philip had been a ſeries of wars; and the manners of

his court, and even the language ſpoken in it, were all in the military ſtyle. BOOK I.

Alexander, beſides, had taken an early predilection for the character of Achilles, which, even in his riper age, appears to have operated powerfully on his mind. Ariſtotle, to whom the care of his education was intruſted, had with great judgment recommended to him to make the writings of Homer his particular ſtudy, as containing the moſt uſeful precepts, both for forming a prince and for the government of a people. But, unluckily, among the many illuſtrious perſonages, whoſe manners the father of poetry has delineated, the young prince fixed upon Achilles for his model. He did not conſider, that it was far from the poet's intention to propoſe to us "the violent, implacable warrior, to "whom every claim is juſt that can be ſupported by "force of arms," as a perfect model for imitation. The poet only meant to ſhow what devaſtation the fierce paſſions make in the nobleſt minds, and of what fatal ills, to the human ſpecies in general, they are productive. But Achilles, Alexander had been told, was one of his progenitors; and therefore he viewed theſe exceſſes with partiality. Poſſibly alſo it may be ſaid, that he was the more ſtruck with his character, on account of the reſemblance it bore to his own. They were the features of Alexander, which he admired in Homer's hero. Sect. 3.

But, whatever were the cauſes that contributed to ſtrengthen in him this turn to military glory, it is certain, that, indulging it in the wanton manner he did, and the repeated ſcenes of carnage it engaged

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

him in, produced, by degrees, that fierceneſs of diſpoſition and character, which is the reproach of his latter years. Accuſtomed to have ſubmiſſion yielded to the terror of his name, he began to look on every reſiſtance to his arms as treaſon, which he was authorized to puniſh, putting frequently whole nations to the ſword, merely becauſe they had families, whom they ſtrove to defend, and rights, which they were unwilling to ſurrender. The ſervility, alſo, with which he was treated by thoſe whom he had brought into ſubjection, inſpired him with a vanity of which Greece had ſeen no example. It was the cuſtom of eaſtern nations to adore their princes; and Alexander would be adored. Some of the heroes of old had been deified by their uninſtructed followers. The Macedonian would be deified alſo; and, becauſe his Grecian veterans, who were accuſtomed to other manners, and were ardent ſupporters of liberty, oppoſed theſe inſolent pretenſions, he forgot he was their king, he attempted to become their tyrant. His temper, naturally violent, became impetuous. All who would not ſubmit to abject ſervility and compliance, he pronounced diſaffected; and ſacrificed to his ſuſpicions, and to his jealouſy, the moſt faithful and moſt worthy of his ſervants.

His ſuperſtitious fears;

What appears moſt extraordinary, in a prince, conſpicuous, as the ſon of Philip was, for courage and firmneſs of mind, is the vulgar ſuperſtition which marked the latter period of his days. It has been obſerved by ſome authors [45], that he was always

[45] See St. Evremond, Jugement d'Alexandre & de Céſar.

superſtitious; and certainly he was, if revering the gods of his country, and endeavouring to conciliate their favor by thoſe means which he had been taught to think of moſt efficacy, can properly be deemed ſuperſtition. What affected his lateſt days was of a different nature, and ſeems to have ariſen from another cauſe. Appalling fears had ſeized his imagination, and, in ſpite of all his efforts, had ſubdued his mind. What theſe were, ancient writers have not informed us. It may not, perhaps, be too bold a conjecture, that the outrages which he had committed upon his own ſubjects, embruing his hands in the blood of Clitus, the baſe and more criminal aſſaſſination of Parmenio, and the death of the virtuous Calliſthenes, had a conſiderable ſhare in exciting thoſe horrors, to which, in the end, he fell a victim; for to them, ſurely, was owing that intemperance in which he at laſt fatally took refuge.

and whence, probably, they aroſe.

Should it be aſked, if civilization and happineſs was the reſult of his exploits to thoſe nations whom he ſubdued? or, if any advantages accrued from them, at leaſt to Macedon? — Even here muſt hiſtory, if ſhe bears faithful record, decide againſt him. This is not the place for producing proofs in ſupport of this deciſion; they will be ſeen in the ſubſequent ſheets of this work.

How far he advanced the happineſs of the nations he conquered, or even of his own people.

An important inſtrument [a] he doubtleſs was in the

He was an inſtrument in the hand of Providence,

[a] "Howbeit, he doth not ſo purpoſe," may we juſtly ſay of him, as the prophet (Iſaiah x. 7.) ſaid of the Aſſyrian, "neither doth his heart ſo intend; but to deſtroy is in his "heart, and to cut off nations not a few." Iſaiah by Biſhop Lowth.

BOOK I. Sect. 3.

hand of Providence, for executing that vengeance on Babylon and her dependent provinces, which their oppreſſions and crimes had long provoked, and which the Almighty had, by his prophets, denounced againſt them; and for opening a more free communication [47] between the eaſtern and weſtern worlds, in order to the gracious purpoſes of eternal Wiſdom. But at the ſame time he was, in his day, a ſcourge to mankind; a ſcourge to the Macedonians themſelves, whoſe intereſt and proſperity he pretended to have in view.

and for what ends.

In what degree of eſtimation he ought to be held.

It may, therefore, juſtly be eſteemed matter of wonder, that ſuch a character ſhould ever have been thought a fit model for princes; and that comparing them to Alexander ſhould have been numbered among thoſe exalted compliments, that flattery is wont to pay to greatneſs and power. This propenſity ſeems to have taken its riſe in the days of chivalry, when a frantic exertion of valor, ranging from country to country in queſt of exploits and adventures, was ſuppoſed to conſtitute the higheſt degree of perſonal merit. Alexander might have been the hero of ſuch an age. But more civilized times muſt often regard his character in a different, and leſs favorable light [48].

[47] See Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

[48] The death of Alexander was followed by that of Siſygambis *. When ſhe heard that he was no more, ſhe refuſed to live. She had ſurvived the fall of Darius, and the ruin of her royal houſe; but ſo noble was the treatment ſhe had received from Alexander, that loſing him ſeemed to her to be the filling up of the meaſure of her afflictions; and ſhe put an end to her life by voluntary abſtinence.

* Quint. Cur. L. x. c. 5.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Alterations, from Philip's acceſſion, in the political ſyſtem of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates — with regard to Perſia — and of Macedon — from what cauſes — Agis of Lacedemon attempts to vindicate the Grecian liberties againſt Macedon — his ſpirited conduct — defeat — and death — Character of Demoſthenes, conſidered as a patriot — his unjuſt condemnation and baniſhment — The Athenians, exaſperated by Alexander's control of their liberties, prepare for war — upon Alexander's death take up arms — recal Demoſthenes — march againſt Antipater — their imprudent confidence — defeated — forced to ſubmit to the Macedonians. — Demoſthenes flies to Calauria — dies — in what manner — abaſement of Athens after his death.

IT is time to return to Greece, in order to view the ſtate of affairs there, during the period of which we have been ſpeaking.

BOOK II.

Sect. I.

Alterations in the political views of the Grecian ſtates.

The important changes that had taken place in the fortunes of Macedon, and the bold ſchemes of ambition, which Philip firſt, and Alexander afterwards, were ſeen to purſue, had produced a conſiderable alteration in the intereſts and political views of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. Long before this period, the Perſian power had ceaſed to be that object of terror it formerly had been, when Greece found it neceſſary to exert her utmoſt ſtrength againſt that empire, for the preſervation of her liberties. To that generous diſplay of patriotiſm and diſintereſted ſpirit, which marked thoſe illuſtrious times, other principles had ſucceeded. Greece was compoſed of a number of independent ſtates. No longer alarmed with apprehenſions from Aſia, they began to contend for domination among themſelves. Athens and Sparta eſpecially, who both poſſeſſed the higheſt ſplendor that the wiſdom of laws and the glory of great achievements can confer, diſdained to be any thing leſs than the rulers of all Greece, and carried on the conteſt for ſovereignty and pre-eminence, with all that virulence which is generally the reproach of domeſtic wars. The Perſian monarchs beheld with pleaſure contentions from which they derived ſecurity. They employed all the arts of intrigue, in which they appear to have been well ſkilled, to keep alive theſe diſſenſions. They had their emiſſaries in every corner of Greece. They excited jealouſies againſt the powerful; they ſupplied with means of defence thoſe ſtates who ſeemed to be exhauſted; and at length accuſtomed the people, who had diſclaimed all ideas of peace *with them*,

to court their friendſhip, and to accept of pecuniary aids.

This plan, indeed, at different times, ſuffered interruption, particularly under the vigorous reign of Ageſilaus. But theſe interruptions were ſhort, and without material conſequences. Popular orators alſo, occaſionally, in order to recommend themſelves to public favor, ſtill affected to call Perſia's kings the natural enemies of the Grecian people, and uſed to recite the glorious exploits their forefathers had achieved againſt them. Yet the general policy was, to conſider the Perſian monarch as a prince, from whoſe corrupted and unwieldy empire Greece had nothing now to apprehend, and to whoſe influence and treaſures it was not diſreputable to have recourſe.

Reign of Ageſilaus.

When the Macedonian princes grew formidable, and their ſubtil ſchemes began to unfold themſelves, theſe friendly diſpoſitions towards the Perſian king acquired additional ſtrength; and what had been, probably, in many caſes the ſuggeſtions of a narrow ambition, were now found to be the dictates of ſound policy. The Greeks ſaw evidently, that their exiſtence as a nation was immediately connected with the ſupport of the Perſian monarch; that Perſia was the only power that could balance the Macedonian; and, if the former was once overthrown, their liberties muſt ſoon ſhare the ſame fate.

The power of Macedon grows formidable;

This explains tranſactions, from which otherwiſe we might be tempted to draw improper inferences. Some of the ableſt ſtateſmen, and firſt leaders of Greece, appear, at this juncture, to have been

and induces many of the Greeks to look to Perſia for protection.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

ſtrongly attached to the Perſian monarch; to have kept up a conſtant intercourſe with his miniſters; and to have frequently received large remittances from them. Demoſthenes, among many others, countenanced theſe principles and adopted this practice; but we are not to imagine they were betraying their country [1]. It was, in fact, their attention to her real intereſt that produced theſe meaſures. The cauſe of Perſia was become the cauſe of Greece.

Philip endeavours to prevent this;

Philip poſſeſſed too much ſagacity, not to perceive the tendency of this political ſyſtem; and was too able a ſtateſman, not to counteract it. *He* alſo employed *his* emiſſaries. He availed himſelf of thoſe popular prejudices againſt the Perſian name, which had ſtill poſſeſſion of the multitude. His orators took every opportunity of diſplaying, with ſtudied aggravation, all the hoſtile attempts ever made againſt Greece by Perſia, and of pouring out invectives againſt thoſe baſe betrayers of their country, who had ſold themſelves to their ſworn enemy. At the ſame time he aſſumed the ſpecious character of "Aſſertor of the independence of "the Grecian people."

obtains the appointment of General of Greece againſt the Barbarians,

Theſe popular acts, aided by a variety of intrigues, and ſupported by the vigor and ſucceſs of his military operations, had their effect. And, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions entertained of him by many of the ſtates of Greece, and the formal oppoſition of ſome of the moſt conſiderable, he had the addreſs to carry the point he had long in view, and to procure himſelf

[1] See Plutarch in Demoſth.

to be elected, in the great council of the nation, GENERAL OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS. What uſe this profound politician would have made of this nominal ſovereignty, is left to our conjectures. He died before he could execute the extenſive projects he had formed.

and dies.

Alexander's activity and vigor;

The Greeks imagined, his ſchemes had expired with him; that they had now little to fear from an unexperienced and raw youth, who neither poſſeſſed the depth of thought, nor the ability for execution, by which his father had been diſtinguiſhed. Their contempt of him was their ruin. Before they entertained any ſuſpicion of Alexander's deſigns, he appeared in the midſt of their national council, and firmly demanded his father's appointment of generaliſſimo, urging his plea with all the plauſibility of argument that the moſt practiſed ſtateſman could have employed. The ſteadineſs with which he made this requiſition, and his perſuaſive manner of enforcing it, joined to their own ſurpriſe and embarraſſment, extorted from them a conſent, in which their affections had little ſhare. Alexander ſaw what interpretation he was to give to this act; and, to confirm their ſervitude, determined they ſhould be taught to know, it was not an uſeleſs weapon they had put into his hands. The Thebans ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity. They, as we have ſeen, endeavoured to ſhake off the Macedonian yoke; the Macedonian King treated them as rebels, who had riſen againſt their lawful ſovereign, laying their city in ruins, and almoſt exterminating their nation.

his chaſtiſement of the Thebans.

The conſternation into which this act of ſeverity

BOOK II. Sect. 1. Humiliation of Greece.

threw all Greece, anſwered Alexander's purpoſe effectually; and he was already in Aſia, before they had recovered from their panic. Antipater had inſtructions to obſerve their motions with a jealous eye; and, by keeping a reſpectable force in readineſs for action, to prevent, if poſſible, their diſaffection from breaking out into open hoſtilities. But, beſides the impreſſion which the dread of Antipater and the fate of Thebes might have made on the minds of the Greeks, there were alſo many other conſiderations, not leſs powerful, to reſtrain them from taking an active part at this conjuncture. They were no longer the noble-ſpirited people they had been; corrupted by diſſipation and pleaſure, their citizens were without ſtrength for war, their leaders ignorant or timid. Far from conſpiring together in any generous or beneficial purpoſe, their ſeveral ſtates were diſunited from each other by diſtruſts, by jealouſies, by reſentment of former injuries. In many of the Grecian cities, the creatures of Macedon predominated, and directed every public act: and where the real friends of Greece retained any ſhare of power, ſuch was the confuſion of the public councils, from the diffidence and heſitation of one party, and the conteſts and perplexing arts of the other, that it was not poſſible their deliberations ſhould terminate in any meaſure vigorous and effectual.

Agis king of Sparta;

Sparta alone ſeemed to teſtify a real concern for the proſperity of Greece. Leſs expoſed, from the nature of her government, to the influence of Macedonian intrigues, ſhe enjoyed, beſides, the advantage of having on the throne a prince active

and intrepid, Agis, grandſon of the great Ageſilaus, who had an early inſight into the ſchemes of the kings of Macedon, and beheld with indignation the Grecian liberties falling before them. To him may be aſcribed the oppoſition made to Alexander by the Spartan deputies, in the general convention of the ſtates of Greece, notwithſtanding the tame compliance of the other members of which that aſſembly was compoſed. Even before he was ſeated on the throne, Agis had been remarkable for his ſpirited behaviour at the court of Philip. He had been diſpatched *alone* on an embaſſy to that Court; and the Macedonian, who ſaw himſelf attended by a number of ambaſſadors from every other Grecian State, diſpleaſed that Sparta had been thus deficient, obſerved with a contemptuous ſneer, "What! from "Sparta but one!" — "Why," replied Agis, "I "was ſent but to one[2]."

his character;

The advanced age of Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, not permitting him to attend to the more laborious offices of government, the military department devolved on Agis; a taſk to which his genius and abilities were well ſuited. He infuſed new vigor into the Spartans. He formed a powerful confederacy throughout the Peloponneſus. He excited an inſurrection in Crete. He kept up a ſtrict connexion with Darius, at whoſe court he had ambaſſadors, and of whoſe motions and counſels he had regular intelligence. It was with Agis that Memnon had concerted the important diverſion of carrying

his policy;

[2] Plutarch in Apophthegm.

BOOK II.

the war into Macedon; which, as we have already obſerved, was prevented by Memnon's death.

Sect. I.

his attempt to ſave Greece;

The diſaſtrous ſtate of Darius's affairs after the battle of Iſſus, increaſed the apprehenſions of Agis. He perceived there was no time to be loſt; and the conjecture ſeemed favorable. Alexander was employed in the diſtant provinces of Aſia; a rebellion in Thrace had obliged Antipater to turn his attention thither; and a conſiderable body of Greek mercenaries, who had eſcaped from Iſſus, had, after a variety of fortune, made their way into Greece, and joined the Spartans. Encouraged by theſe ſeveral incidents, he took the field, and marched againſt Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponneſus that held out for the Macedonians. Antipater was alarmed; he compoſed matters in Thrace in the beſt manner he was able; and haſtened to oppoſe an enemy, whoſe attempt, if ſucceſsful, might have been followed by

defeat,

a general defection of the reſt of Greece. The Macedonian fortune once more prevailed. Agis was overpowered by the ſuperior numbers of Antipater,

and death.

and fell pierced with wounds. His men would have ſecured his retreat; but he refuſed to ſurvive the expiring liberties of his country, and continued fighting to the laſt [3].

Conſequences of this victory.

This victory was of eſſential ſervice to Alexander. It diſſipated the Peloponneſian confederacy, which might have led to dangerous conſequences. It provided effectually for the ſecurity of his hereditary

[3] Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 6. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 1. Juſt. L. xii. c. 1.

dominions,

dominions, and left him at leiſure to purſue his ſchemes of foreign conqueſts. Jealous, however, of the glory Antipater derived from his victory, Alexander affected to make light of what he had performed. "Whilſt our arms have been employed "againſt Darius," ſaid he, "there has, it ſeems, "been a battle of mice in Arcadia [*]." Had the Perſian monarch furniſhed Agis with ſeaſonable and ample ſupplies, and enabled him, before it was too late, to make that diverſion, which ſuch a prince, properly ſupported, might have made; and had the Grecians, at the ſame time, ſenſible of their ſituation, and animated with the virtue of their anceſtors, exerted themſelves in conjunction with him; Alexander had probably found it a very different war from what *he* had to wage againſt the ill-diſciplined and effeminate Aſiatics.

Demoſthenes obnoxious to the Macedonian government;

Athens had not joined in the confederacy with Agis. The hoſtile wiſhes, however, and private intrigues of Demoſthenes and his party were no ſecret to Antipater; and he determined they ſhould ſhare in the humiliation to which Greece was now reduced by his victorious arms. Demoſthenes had long been the moſt formidable enemy the Macedonian intereſt had to contend with in Athens, and the ſtates connected with her. His powers of eloquence it were ſuperfluous to enlarge upon. They have been long the ſubject of univerſal panegyric; and the applauſe they obtained from a people, who, in high ſpirit, exquiſite taſte, and quickneſs of apprehen-

his character as an orator;

[*] Plutarch in Ageſilao.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

sion, have never been excelled, if ever equalled, and the amazing effects they often produced among them; arresting every ear in the midst of their most impetuous pursuits, and compelling men to adopt schemes they were most adverse to; abundantly declare the vast extent of his oratorial powers. But, how exalted soever he stands deservedly as an orator, his character as a statesman and a patriot, in which lights we are at present to consider him, challenges infinitely more our admiration. He has the merit of having made the earliest discovery of Philip's real designs; he intuitively saw into his very soul; and, with a sagacity almost prophetic, pointed out to his fellow-citizens the several objects of the ambition of that aspiring prince, when he could hardly be supposed yet to have formed them. The love of ease, which now prevailed among the Athenians, the natural consequence of voluptuous manners, together with the contempt with which they were accustomed to look down on Macedon and her kings, rendered them at first inattentive to the warnings of this faithful counsellor. He was not discouraged. The more his countrymen were immersed in pleasures, the louder and the more active was his zeal. He attacked their indolence and degeneracy with the keenest severity. He tore them from their favorite amusements. He forced open the miser's purse; and drove the voluptuary to the field of battle He roused, in like manner, the other Grecian states from their inactivity. He watched Philip's motions, in Thrace, in Illyricum, in Thessaly, and, subtle as the Macedonian was, often counteracted his best-

as a patriot;

concerted plans. He baffled him at Bizantium; he baffled him at Thermopylæ; and at laſt forced him to venture all on the caſt of a battle at Chaeronea. Philip was indeed victorious; but he owed this victory to cauſes in which Demoſthenes had no concern.

his firmneſs in times of difficulty;

That fatal event was ſoon followed by thoſe ſignal ſucceſſes which attended Alexander's arms, firſt in Europe, then in Aſia; all which rendered any oppoſition to the Macedonian power exceedingly difficult and hazardous. Demoſthenes, nevertheleſs, ſtill perſiſted, neither gained over by hopes of perſonal advantage, nor intimidated by the perils with which he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded. He withſtood the creatures of Macedon on all occaſions. He ſupported the Perſian intereſt, as far as the ancient prepoſſeſſions of the multitude permitted him; and there is reaſon to believe, that if Agis had proved ſucceſsful againſt Antipater, he would have endeavoured, and probably with effect, to make Athens declare in his favor.

conſtitutionally timid;

What makes the character of Demoſthenes more remarkable, and ſerves to ſhow how ſtrong his feelings for his country muſt have been, was his conſtitutional cowardice. Intrepid as he was, when pleading the cauſe of Athens; in the field of battle he had not even the firmneſs of a common ſoldier.

miſtaken in one point;

In one point, however, Demoſthenes ſeems to have been miſtaken. His deſign was, to reſtore to the Athenian conſtitution its priſtine vigor; and to recal that ſpirit, which had formerly produced ſuch wonderful effects. But that ſpirit was not to be

BOOK II. Sect. I.

recalled. The ſource of it, Athenian virtue, was no more.

and is oppoſed by Phocion,

Phocion, an illuſtrious Athenian of theſe times, who had all the integrity, though none of the enthuſiaſm, of Demoſthenes, oppoſed him upon this principle. "Since the Athenians," ſaid he[5], "in their preſent degeneracy, are no longer able to "fill their ancient glorious ſphere, let them adapt "their counſels to their abilities, and rather court "the friendſhip of that power, which they cannot "provoke but to their deſtruction." Demoſthenes could not forbear looking back to the age of a Themiſtocles and a Cimon. His deſigns certainly argued nobler ſentiments and a greater elevation of mind. But the temperate patriotiſm of Phocion had doubtleſs the advantage in point of wiſdom.

charged with having received a bribe from Harpalus;

Greece now humbled by Antipater's arms, the enemies of Demoſthenes ſoon found an opportunity, which they had long ſought for, of bringing him to diſgrace and public condemnation. Harpalus, of whom mention has already been made, having plundered the treaſures which Alexander had committed to his care, fled to Athens, in hopes of protection. Demoſthenes was one of the firſt men to urge to the people the expediency of refuſing ſhelter to ſuch a traitor, conjuring them not to draw on themſelves Alexander's reſentment in a cauſe ſo diſreputable. But Harpalus, who knew well how to diſtribute his gold, had ſecured a number of orators on his ſide, and might probably have continued in Athens without farther moleſtation, had not the

[5] Plutarch in Phocione.

report of Alexander's ſending a formidable fleet to chaſtiſe the Athenians for giving him ſhelter, obliged them to expel him from their city. This act of juſtice was followed by another. An inquiry was inſtituted concerning thoſe perſons who had received preſents from Harpalus; and directions were given that they ſhould be proſecuted. This was the engine which Antipater's creatures employed ſucceſsfully againſt Demoſthenes. He was charged with having taken Harpalus's gold; and upon trial before the Areopagus was condemned, and fined fifty talents, which, being unable to pay, he was forced into exile [a]. banished.

The charge unjuſt: The circumſtances of this charge, as related by Plutarch, carry, nevertheleſs, upon the face of them, an air of fiction and abſurdity. Demoſthenes, we are told, was preſent when Harpalus was landing his treaſure; and, a gold cup of great value and elegant workmanſhip having caught his eye, Harpalus, who obſerved him admiring it, deſired he would poiſe it in his hand, in order to gueſs at the weight; Demoſthenes aſked what it might amount to, "To you," replied Harpalus, "it ſhall bring "twenty talents;" and accordingly ſent it with twenty talents to the orator's houſe. Demoſthenes was next day to have appeared againſt him before the aſſembly of the people; but the gold cup having ſhown him the cauſe in a different light, he excuſed himſelf upon pretence of a ſudden cold.

So coarſe and ſhameleſs a traffic almoſt exceeds belief, and argues an indelicacy, ſuch as we can

[a] Plutarch in Demoſthene.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

hardly ſuppoſe an Athenian would have been guilty of, much leſs a Demoſthenes, who had an exalted character to maintain, and who muſt have known the difficulty of concealing ſuch a tranſaction from public obſervation. The conduct of ſuch a man muſt, in policy, have been more guarded, had he even been capable of the meanneſs to ſell himſelf to Harpalus.

But not only is this whole narrative highly improbable: there is direct proof from Pauſanias[7], that the accuſation was altogether the device of malice. Harpalus fled from Athens to Crete, where he was ſlain by his own ſervants; and his principal manager having fallen into the hands of Philoxenus, he compelled him by torture to inform againſt thoſe Athenians who had received bribes from Harpalus. From his confeſſion, which Philoxenus himſelf atteſted, appeared the innocence of Demoſthenes. Philoxenus was a naval officer in the ſervice of Alexander, who had a perſonal enmity to Demoſthenes. His teſtimony, therefore, deſerves the fulleſt credit[8].

Antipater was too experienced a politician to appear avowedly in this proſecution; it is, however,

[7] See Pauſan. in Corinthiacis, p. 76.

[8] Even Plutarch's account ſupplies us with evidence in behalf of Demoſthenes. From that hiſtorian's own confeſſion, Demoſthenes appears to have been the very perſon who moved for an order that the affair ſhould be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all perſons puniſhed, who ſhould be found guilty of having taken bribes. Plut. in Demoſthene. Would Demoſthenes have done this, had he been conſcious of being himſelf among the guilty?

easy to judge at whose instance, and by whose intrigues, it was carried on. And it must be acknowledged, the artifice was well adapted to the purpose. To have attacked Demosthenes for what was really his crime in the eyes of the Macedonians, "his unalterable zeal for the liberties of his country," had been invidious even in the present situation of things. But, to impeach his integrity; to show to Athens, that the man who was her pride had a corrupted heart, and that his boasted superiority of virtue was nothing more than a greater depth of hypocrisy; was injuring the cause, of which he was the champion, and, as it were, striking at Athenian patriotism through the sides of Demosthenes. The scheme was worthy of Antipater; and so dangerous are the wounds of calumny, that to this day this great man is spoken of, by the superficial inquirer, as having fallen a victim to his own avarice.

who promoted the charge, and with what views.

The condemnation of Demosthenes affords a melancholy view of the debasement, into which the most respectable of the tribunals of Athens had been sunk by that despotic power now possessed by Antipater. The decision of THE CAUSE OF THE CROWN had happened about two years before this period; and it will be proper to explain the nature of that celebrated trial.

Ctesiphon had proposed a decree, by which a golden crown was to be presented to Demosthenes for his services to his country, and particularly for having rebuilt some part of the Athenian walls at his own expense. Aeschines, another Athenian orator, who had devoted himself to the Macedonian interest,

The cause of the crown.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

had indicted Cteſiphon for this propoſal, alledging, among other things, that Demoſthenes, far from deſerving any honors from his country, was in reality the enemy of Greece. The complaint againſt Cteſiphon was preferred on the year of the battle of Chaeronea, a ſeaſon of great humiliation to Athens, and probably choſen by Aeſchines and his party on that account. Demoſthenes undertook the defence of Cteſiphon. But from various incidents, the hearing of the cauſe was poſtponed until [9] ſome months after the final overthrow of Darius.

The importance of the queſtion, in which the diſcuſſion of the claims of Macedon, the independence of Athens, and, indeed, of every other Grecian ſtate, were evidently involved; together with the great reputation of both the orators, excited univerſal attention; and from the remoteſt parts of Greece, multitudes crowded to Athens, to attend the intereſting conteſt [10]. The partiſans alſo of Macedon were not inactive, and every kind of ſolicitation was employed to gain the judges, by whom ſentence was to be pronounced. Demoſthenes, nevertheleſs, proved victorious. And Aeſchines, not having a fifth of the ſuffrages in his favor, was, according to the law in ſuch caſes, ſeverely fined, and upon non-payment obliged to retire into baniſhment. This

[9] OLYMP. cxii. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 329. In the Archonſhip of Ariſtophon.—See Palm. Exercit. in Auct. Graec. p. 656.

[10] Οσους ουδεις πωποτε μεμνηται προς αγωνα δημοσιον παραγενομενους: ſays Aeſchines in Cteſiphont. Dobl. 1769, a Stock — The cauſe was heard in the court of Heliaea; of which ſee Potter, b. i. c. 21.

extraordinary ſucceſs, which was in reality the triumph of liberty over oppreſſion, ſerves to ſhow, that Athens was not yet broken to the yoke of bondage. Demoſthenes's performance on this occaſion has certainly the higheſt degree of merit. Even to us, who have only a diſtant and aſſumed intereſt in the matters agitated, it has ſuch faſcinating powers that it is ſcarcely poſſible to read it, without feeling ſome portion of what every honeſt Athenian muſt have felt on that important day. His ſucceſs, however, is not to be altogether aſcribed to the force of his eloquence; the circumſtances of the times operated alſo in his favor. Alexander, at that time, was engaged in the remote provinces of Aſia, "almoſt," ſaid the public voice, "beyond the utmoſt limits of "the habitable world[11]," from whence it was not thought he could ever return: ſo that whether Greece was to preſerve or loſe her liberties, was a point not yet decided. The emiſſaries of Macedon could only ſolicit, they could not dictate. Two years later, perhaps, Demoſthenes and Aeſchines had changed fortunes.

Whence this different ſucceſs.

Degraded as Greece appears now to have been, Alexander thought there was ſomething wanting to complete her humiliation. During the firſt of his victories in Aſia, he affected to treat the Greeks with moderation. To Athens he had paid particular regard; whether he reſpected the ancient glories of that illuſtrious city, or whether he felt his vanity

Alexander affects to dictate to the Grecian ſtates;

[11] Ἔξω τῆς ἀρκτου καὶ οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης. Aeſch. in Cteſiphont.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

interested in the judgment which her writers should form concerning him. The latter consideration had probably most weight. As he was passing the Hydaspes, in order to attack Porus, "What dangers am I "encountering, O Athenians," was he heard to say, "in order to be celebrated by you[12]!" But his spirit, naturally imperious, and elevated by his repeated successes, and the prostrate servility with which the Asiatic nations approached him, was now become impatient of contradiction; and every struggle for liberty he considered as an insolent invasion of his right of sovereignty. In most of the Grecian states there had long subsisted a contention for power, the body of the people claiming the administration of affairs, and the higher order of citizens endeavouring to wrest it from them. Whatever party prevailed, the chief leaders in opposition were driven into exile. This had filled Greece with exiles from almost every city, and their number, at this period, is said to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand[13]. Alexander quickly saw what advantage might be reaped from this contingency. If restored to their privileges through him, they were so many of his creatures, of whose devotion he might rest assured: at the same time, the convulsions, into which every state would probably be thrown by the revolutions of power and property, which such an act of indemnity must introduce, would leave the different commonwealths of Greece at his mercy. The popular

[12] Plutarch in Alexand.

[13] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.

government also had been victorious in most of the states; and his undertaking the cause of the exiles furnished Alexander with the very opportunity he wished for, of depressing that party, whose bold and ungovernable zeal for freedom rendered them exceedingly obnoxious. Actuated by these motives, he commanded proclamation to be made at the Olympic games, "that all the exiles, those excepted "who had been guilty of atrocious crimes, should "be forthwith restored to their respective cities;" declaring, that whatever cities refused to receive them, should be compelled by military force [14].

commands the exiles to be restored.

There is a degree of oppression, that will rouse the most abject. Alexander's pretending to divine honors, had provoked the ridicule [15] of some of the Grecian states, and the indignation of others. The Athenians had the courage to fine one of their citizens for proposing to inrol him among their gods; and pronounced sentence of death against another, who, when on an embassy, had been mean enough to pay him divine honors [16]. These, however, were but

[14] Diod. Sic. up. sup.

[15] The decree of the Spartans, on this occasion, is memorable, and shows what a spirited people they still were, notwithstanding their late humiliation by the defeat of Agis: Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός; "Since Alexander "will be a god, let him be a god." — Aelian. L. ii. c. 19.

[16] Demades proposed a law, "that to the twelve great "gods of the Athenian ritual Alexander should be added." Incensed at which insolent proposal, the people fined him ten talents, 1,937 l. 10 s. (says Athenaeus, L. vi. c. 126. p. 251. Casaub.) a hundred talents, 19,375 l. (says Aelian, L. v. c. 12. p. 415. Gron.) Evagoras, who, when deputed by

BOOK II. Sect. I.

the faint efforts of a people who had not yet forgotten their days of liberty, and no insurrection had followed. But his usurping a control over their municipal privileges, the exercise of which was to the Greeks an object of supreme importance, was more than they could bear. The Athenians, especially, were fired with indignation; they refused to obey; and immediately dispatched embassadors to all the neighbouring states, in order to excite a general insurrection. The Aetolians were warm in the same cause, having been lately exasperated by certain menacing declarations Alexander was said to have employed against them [17]. Whilst this ferment was at the highest, intelligence arrived, that Alexander was dead. Now it was seen what were the real sentiments of the Greeks. Most of them ran to arms, and, having driven out the friends of Macedon, hastened to join the Athenians, who had already a considerable force collected under the command of Leosthenes.

The Athenians refuse to obey;

and invite the other states to join them.

Alexander dies. Insurrection throughout Greece.

Demosthenes is recalled.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes was recalled. Though in exile, he still retained unabated zeal for what he thought to be the cause of his country. He attended the Athenian ambassadors in

the Athenians to Alexander, had, in compliance with the vanity of that prince, worshipped him, they condemned to death. Athen. ub. sup.

[17] They had sacked the city of the Oeniadae on the Achelous; and Alexander having been informed of it, "The children of "the Oeniadae," said he, "need not avenge their cause; I "will myself execute vengeance on the Aetolians."—Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.

their progreſs through Peloponneſus; and by his eloquence prevailed on many of the cities to unite with Athens in endeavouring to deliver Greece from the yoke of Macedon. In one of the Arcadian cities he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to Pytheas, an eminent orator, and a principal inſtrument of the Macedonian faction; his reply to whom was much celebrated. "The Athenians," ſaid Pytheas, "may be likened unto aſs's milk: when "brought into any houſe, it is a certain indication "of ſickneſs there; ſo, whenever they appear in "any city, we may ſurely pronounce that city to be "diſtempered."—"True," anſwered Demoſthenes; "but as aſs's milk is the reſtorative of health, ſo are "diſtempered ſtates reſtored to vigor by Athenian "counſels [13]." This timely exertion of loyalty, together with the change that had taken place in the Athenian government, pleaded effectually in his behalf. He was reſtored in the moſt honorable manner. A galley was fitted out to fetch him from Aegina; and as he came from the Piraeus to Athens, the whole body of citizens, even prieſts and magiſtrates, went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was ſtill liable to the fine, which, by the laws of Athens, could not be remitted; but they contrived to indemnify him. They aſſigned to him the office of preparing and adorning the altar on the feaſt of Jupiter the Preſerver, with an appointment of fifty talents, the ſum to which his fine amounted.

[13] Plutarch in Demoſthene.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

Leoſthenes marches againſt Antipater, and overcomes him.

Leoſthenes had commenced his military operations with great ſucceſs [19]. He had marched againſt Antipater at the head of a numerous army, had defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Lamia in Theſſaly, of which he had immediately formed the ſiege. Theſe proſperous beginnings elated the Athenians; they had already, in their ſanguine expectations, driven back the Macedonians within their ancient boundaries; and in a ſhort time, they imagined, Athens was to be raiſed once more to her former ſplendor.

The exultation of the Athenians reproved by Phocion.

Phocion thought otherwiſe. He to the utmoſt of his power oppoſed the giddy humors of the people, who, though poſſibly victorious at firſt, he knew, had neither ſteadineſs nor ſtrength ſufficient to maintain a war of any continuance againſt Macedon. "What will then be the "proper time, do you think, for the Athenians to "go to war?" ſaid one of the popular leaders to him, "When the young men," replied Phocion, "keep "within the bounds of order; when the rich are "liberal in their contributions; and the orators ceaſe "to rob the ſtate." Even the preſent flaſh of ſucceſs did not miſlead his ſound judgment. When ſucceſſive meſſengers were arriving with tidings of farther advantages obtained over the enemy; "when ſhall "we have done conquering?" ſaid Phocion [20].

Leoſthenes ſlain.

He was juſtified by the event. Leoſthenes having fallen before Lamia, the Athenians continued the war under the command of Antiphilus, and even defeated

[19] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1, 2.

[20] Plutarch in Phocione.

and killed Leonnatus, who had marched to the assistance of Antipater. But here ended their good fortune. Antipater contrived to get out of Lamia; and Craterus, who had charge of conducting the Macedonian veterans back to Europe, at the time of Alexander's death, having received advice in Cilicia of the difficulties of Antipater, hastened to his assistance, and, joining forces with him, advanced to Cranon, a town in Thessaly, attacked the Greeks, and worsted them. What the unprosperous issue of this battle begun, the intrigues of Antipater completed. The Grecian confederacy crumbled to pieces, every state making terms for itself, and leaving the Athenians to provide, as they could, for their own security. Having therefore no enemy to oppose them, the Macedonian generals directed their march towards Athens. Arrogant as the Athenians had been when victorious, much more were they depressed by a reverse of fortune. They laid aside all thoughts of defence, and sent deputies to deprecate the wrath of the conquerors; offering to submit to whatever conditions they should be pleased to impose. Demosthenes, and Hyperides another Athenian orator in the same interest, were the first victims demanded. Their faithful and active zeal, in the service of their country, deserved this distinction. The other conditions were not less humiliating: the Democracy was to be abolished; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; and the administration was to be lodged in the hands of the rich; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the whole expenses of the war. Phocion, who might

and Antipater victorious.

The Athenians submit to Antipater,

who imposes rigorous conditions.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

juſtly claim ſome merit with Antipater, labored much to ſave Athens from the ignominy of a Macedonian garriſon; but the victor, oppreſſive and relentleſs in his nature, was not to be ſoftened. Plutarch informs us, that by this treaty upwards of twelve thouſand Athenians were diſfranchiſed, moſt of whom were afterwards removed to Thrace, the Siberia of Greece, where they had lands aſſigned to them [21].

Demoſthenes flies to Calauria,

Demoſthenes, knowing what treatment his ſtrenuous efforts for liberty might expect, had left Athens, upon the approach of Antipater, and fled to Calauria, a ſmall iſland oppoſite to Troezene, where he took refuge in a temple of Neptune, to whom the iſland was particularly ſacred: but Antipater having diſpatched meſſengers thither, they beſet the temple, and ſeemed diſpoſed not to pay regard to any ſanctuary. In this emergency Demoſthenes ſwallowed poiſon, which he had provided for the occaſion, and expired before the altar of the god.

and dies.

Different accounts of his death.

Such was the cataſtrophe of Demoſthenes, according to general tradition. But Plutarch [22] tells us, that Democharis, who attended him in his laſt moments, affirmed that his ſudden death was not by any procurement of his own, but altogether owing to a decay of nature (rendered, probably, more rapid by the anguiſh, which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs he muſt have felt for himſelf and for his country). "A "gracious Providence," ſaid Democharis, "ſnatched "him away from the cruelty of the Macedonians."

[21] Diod. Sic. ub. ſup. Plutarch in Phocione & Demoſthene.

[22] In Demoſthene.

It

Abaſement of Athens.

It deſerves notice, that when Athens loſt Demoſthenes, her ſpirit for liberty ſeems to have finally expired; her annals from this period being remarkable for little more than the ſervile adulation, with which ſhe fawned on the ſeveral tyrants that ruled over her. After Antipater, his ſon Caſſander held her in ſubjection. He was diſpoſſeſſed by Aridaeus and Polyperchon; and ſo wretchedly baſe were the Athenians grown, that, to pleaſe their new maſters, they condemned to death the excellent Phocion [21], merely becauſe he had been in favor with Caſſander and his father. The ſame degenerated character the Athenians appear to have retained through the various revolutions that followed, the irruption of the Gauls excepted. On that occaſion, ſome portion of their ancient vigor revived; but, the danger over, they ſoon relapſed. There was no government, however oppreſſive, to which they did not tamely ſubmit, nor any governor, however profligate, whoſe great virtues they were not ready to extol; transferring their homage from tyrant to tyrant, during all the viciſſitudes of power.

We ſhall find frequent inſtances of this ſervility in the hiſtory of the Macedonian princes, with whoſe affairs thoſe of the Athenians will generally be found connected; their tranſactions from this time being too inconſiderable to have a particular place aſſigned to them.

We now paſs over to Aſia, to view the changes of the Macedonian empire in that quarter from the period of Alexander's death.

[21] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 5. Plut. in Phocione.

BOOK II.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

General ſtate of affairs in Aſia, from Alexander's death to the battle of Ipſus—Alexander's generals deſtroy his family—and divide his dominions among themſelves—Antigonus, and Demetrius his ſon, kings of Syria—provoke the other chiefs by their haughty and ambitious claims—are defeated at Ipſus—Antigonus is ſlain—Demetrius ſaves himſelf by flight—is ſtripped of moſt of his dominions—endeavours to recover them—in vain—is forced to yield himſelf a priſoner to Seleucus—dies in confinement—his character—and various fortunes.

BOOK II. Sect. 2. Intereſted views of his ſucceſſors, upon Alexander's death.

THE death of Alexander offered a wide field to the ambition of the ſeveral commanders who had ſerved under him[1]. He had left no ſon who might fill the throne; the incapacity of his brother Aridaeus was generally admitted; and his laſt words ſeemed to open the ſucceſſion to the pretenſions of every claimant. Theſe were flattering circumſtances, to men who ſaw themſelves at the head of powerful armies, and inveſted with the government of the richeſt provinces of Aſia. Many of them too were reſpectable by their birth, all of them high in military reputation, and poſſeſſed of much treaſure; and they had for ſome years moved in a ſphere not inferior to that of

[1] See Plutarch in Alexand Diod. Sic. xviii. 2. & ſeq. Juſt. xiii. 1. Pauſan. in Atticis.

sovereign princes. Alexander, in his last moments, had delivered his signet to Perdiccas. This tacit appointment (for in that light it was considered by this general and his dependents) served only to mark him out as an object of envy to the rest; and the most certain means of being frustrated in his claims, had been to avow them. When therefore it was proposed that Aridaeus, and the child to be born of Roxana, in case it proved a son, should share the government, all the competitors, after some contestations of little moment, concurred in the measure; not from any regard to the memory of their late master, but because the nominal sovereignty of *a fool* and *an infant* left each of them at liberty to pursue the purposes of his ambition. Aridaeus is, from this period, generally known by the name of Philip Aridaeus. The soldiers gave him that appellation, in honor of his father.

Aridaeus appointed to the sovereignty, together with the child to be born of Roxana design of this appointment.

Perdiccas acted the part of an artful politician. He had at first vigorously opposed the election of Aridaeus; but, from the moment he found himself unable to prevent it, he affected to appear devoted to his interests, and so effectually insinuated himself into his confidence, that he soon got possession of the power of which that weak prince had but the name; he even contrived, with Aridaeus's approbation, to destroy the very persons who had appeared most strenuous in promoting his election[a]. With a view to secure the favor of the Macedonian soldiery, who retained a strong affection for the family of Philip, he effected the prince's marriage with Eurydice, the

Artifice of Perdiccas.

[a] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1. Just. L. xiii. c. 4.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

grand-daughter of that monarch, though he himself had been the murderer of her mother [1].

courts the favor of Roxana, whose new-born son was now associated in the kingdom:

It soon became necessary to unite his interests with those of Roxana, whose new born son, Alexander, was associated in the kingdom with Aridaeus; and the favor of this princess was purchased by the most criminal sacrifices to her jealousy and apprehensions. Statira, the daughter of the unfortunate Darius, and wife of Alexander, was put to death, lest a child should be born of her, who might one day dispute the throne with the son of Roxana; and Parysatis, Statira's sister, who had been married to Hephaestion, shared the same fate [2].

to please her, murders Statira:

forms the plan of removing the great officers from court, under pretence of assigning them governments.

Though Perdiccas now possessed the sole administration of affairs, he had still, he thought, much to fear from men who had lately been his fellow-commanders, and who might either supplant him in the royal favor, or raise a party against him in the army. To remove these, therefore, from too near a connexion with the court he caused the several governments and great offices of state to be distributed among them, in the name of the kings. The hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and the countries

[1] The mother of Eurydice was called Cynane. She was daughter of king Philip, by a lady of Illyricum, and had been disposed of by him in marriage to Amyntas, who was son to his eldest brother, and consequently had a prior right to the throne of Macedon. This princess was put to death by Perdiccas, on pretence of certain reasons of state; but in fact, to gratify the wishes of Olympias.

[2] Plutarch in Alexand.

dependent on it, together with all Greece, were assigned to Antipater and Craterus. To Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia Ptolemy had Egypt. Antigonus Phrygia the greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Lysimachus, Thrace and the Chersonese, with all the adjacent countries to the Euxine sea. Seleucus was placed at the head of the royal cavalry. And the others had similar appointments Perdiccas contented himself with the title of captain of the household-troops, whilst in fact, under the sanction of the regal authority, all acts of government were performed by him [5].

finds himself the dupe of this measure:

This measure, though politic in appearance, proved in the end the destruction of its author. While he hoped, by placing the generals at a distance from each other, to have an opportunity of crushing those who were most obnoxious to him, he seems to have forgotten, that they were men, who, with great abilities, had ambition equal to his own; and few of them would fail to grasp at a sovereignty, which their present situation put within their reach. Antigonus was one of the first who disclaimed all dependence. Antipater and Craterus prepared to take up arms and Ptolemy had soon established his power in Egypt, in a manner that plainly indicated his aspiring views. Perdiccas determined to begin by attacking this last; and, having left Eumenes to make head against Antipater and Craterus, he together with the kings, directed his march towards Egypt. After repeated attempts, however, it was found impracticable to make impression on the Egyptian frontier; and the soldiers,

attacks Ptolemy,

without success;

[5] Diod. Sic. Just. ub. sup.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

disgusted with ill success, and exasperated by the severe and haughty manners he had assumed mutinied, and assassinated him [t].

is slain by his own soldiers

Antipater and Craterus defeated by Eumenes;

Whilst Perdiccas [u] was employed in this expedition, Eumenes [x], who was unalterably true to the interests of Perdiccas, because he believed them to be the interests of the son and brother of his late royal master, had made a vigorous opposition to the party of Antipater and Craterus, and defeated them in two engagements, in one of which Craterus fell.

Craterus slain.

Art employed by Eumenes in the obtaining this victory.

This last victory was obtained altogether by the artful management of Eumenes. Craterus was so highly beloved by the national troops, that, had the Macedonians on the side of Eumenes found out they were marching against this general, they had probably gone over to his standard. But Eumenes, who was aware of this circumstance, carefully concealed the fact from them; and, when he was to join battle, contrived to oppose with foreigners alone, that part where Craterus commanded. So that the Macedonians had no suspicion of his being in the field, until he was found expiring.

fidelity to Alexander's family:

Eumenes, indeed, appears to have been the only one of the servants of Alexander whose integrity was

[t] Olymp. cxiv. 3. Before Christ 321.

[u] It is said, that he had at first courted the alliance of Antipater, in order to gain him over to his ambitious views; but that afterwards, through the management of Olympias, who hated Antipater and his family, he had been induced to turn his thoughts to Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of the king of Epire. Just. L. xiii. c. 6.

[x] See Plutarch in Eumene.

without reproach. Though by birth a Thracian, he had been much intrusted by that prince, and had served him with fidelity, both in the army and in the closet. After his death, he continued firmly attached to the princes of his family, whose cause he defended with great bravery to the last.

declared a public enemy:

This honorable conduct availed him little. As the friend of Perdiccas, he had, after the murder of that general, been proclaimed a public enemy. And Antipater having been elected protector of the kingdom in Perdiccas's stead, gave orders to Antigonus to prosecute the war against him.

defeated by Antigonus:

Antigonus gladly received orders, which so exactly corresponded with his own views. He immediately prepared to attack Eumenes, and by the treachery of one of his officers, obtained a complete victory over him. Eumenes, nevertheless, had the skill to make this disaster contribute to his glory. He collected the scattered remains of his army; struck off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy were pursuing him; passed by them unperceived; returned to the field of battle; burnt the dead bodies of his soldiers on one pile, and those of his officers on another, covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth; and then, detaching all his sick and wounded, retired with six hundred[9] chosen men to Nora, a strong castle on the borders of Cappadocia, in which, with no other provisions but corn, salt, and water, he held out against Antigonus a whole year; and that general found

his skilful retreat to the castle of Nora where he baffles Antigonus:

[9] Seven hundred, says Plutarch (in Eumene); six hundred, says Diodorus, xviii. 4.

BOOK II. himself at last under the necessity of allowing him honorable terms.

Sect. 2. manner of exercising his men and horses in this castle: It was during this siege that he put in practice his memorable expedient for keeping his men and horses in proper exercise. He perceived the inconveniences they were likely to suffer from confinement; the whole inclosure being only about two furlongs in circumference, and most of the ground occupied by buildings. He therefore assigned to the men the largest room in the fort, about twenty-one feet in length in which they were obliged every day to use the exercise of walking during a certain portion of time, mending their pace gradually, until they went at full speed. The horses he secured by strong halters fastened to the roof of the stable; and then raising their heads and fore-parts by a pulley, and at the same time taking care that they stood firm on their hind-feet, he made the grooms excite them with the whip and voice; the horses bounded on their hind-feet, and strained to get their fore-feet to the ground, till they were out of breath and in a foam; and after their exercise, they had their barley given to them boiled, that they might the more easily digest it. By this means he provided effectually for the health of the whole garrison, and rendered them fit for service whenever an opportunity for action should offer.

Meanwhile, all was confusion in Macedon. Antipater was dead, and Polyperchon [10] who succeeded him, contrary to the prudent maxim of his predecessor, had yielded the reins of government to Olym-

[10] Olymp. cxv. 1. Before Christ 319.

pias [11], whose violent and vindictive passions knew no bounds. The wisest measure of her administration seems to have been employing Eumenes. She was fully sensible of his loyalty, and that he was the only trusty servant the royal family had among the Asiatic governors, to oppose to Antigonus, whose power was becoming every day more formidable. Letters accordingly were dispatched, constituting him general for the kings in Asia.

is appointed general for the kings in Asia:

He showed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Notwithstanding the superior interest of Antigonus, he took effectual measures for augmenting his forces. By gratifying the avarice or the ambition of the principal officers in the different provinces, he drew many of them over to him. He had even the art to gain the Argyraspidae, a veteran body of Macedonian troops, so named from their silver-shields, who were held in great estimation on account of their gallant achievements in the late wars, and of the distinction or armor with which Alexander had honored them. He particularly avoided affecting any superiority over men, every one of whom thought himself too great to obey: and, at the same time, to preserve order among them, he erected, in consequence of a dream he pretended to have had, a royal pavilion, and in the midst of it a throne, such as Alexander was wont to be seated on, adorned with all the ensigns of regal power, around which the officers, when in council, should take their places indiscriminately, as if Alexander were in person among

strengthens himself:

his attention to prevent jealousies among his officers:

[11] Plutarch in Phocione & Eumene.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

them. By this artifice, he put a ſtop to all diſputes, concerning precedency, and ſuppreſſed certain jealouſies, which were on the point of breaking out into a flame.

Thus, without any reſources but thoſe which his own ſagacity ſuggeſted, he was enabled to keep the field againſt Antigonus, and in ſome engagements gained advantages over him.

his followers are corrupted by the intrigues of Antigonus;

During three years, an undeciſive war was carried on between them. At the end of this period, Antigonus, who had taken much pains to corrupt thoſe who ſerved under Eumenes, and who had intelligence of the diſſenſions and frequent conteſts which prevailed among his principal officers, determined to attack him in his winter-quarters. Eumenes was apprized of his intention, and prepared to receive him as he could, with an army ſeditious, and impatient of control. But Peuceſtus [12], who commanded the horſe, had ſold himſelf to Antigonus: ſo that although Eumenes, at the head of the infantry, routed the phalanx of the enemy, his cavalry was rendered uſeleſs. Antigonus improved the advantage, and, wheeling round the army of Eumenes, fell upon the baggage. When the infantry returned therefore from the field of battle, and ſaw that they had loſt every thing, their wives, their children, the rich plunder they had acquired in the courſe of the Aſiatic wars, they were tranſported with rage, not only againſt the enemy, but againſt Eumenes, in whoſe ſervice they had ſuſtained ſo great a loſs; and, as if at

they loſe their baggage;

[12] Plutarch in Eumene.

the mercy of Antigonus, they ſent to requeſt he would reſtore to them what he had taken. This was what Antigonus looked for His anſwer was, that they ſhould have all they had loſt, with the addition of any farther boon they ſhould aſk, on condition only of their delivering up Eumenes, "who," ſaid he "is not even a Macedonian, and has been declared a "public enemy."

ſell Eumenes to Antigonus,

The Argyraſpidae immediately cloſed with the infamous propoſal; they ſeized their general, pinioned his arms behind him, and prepared to deliver him up in that ſituation to Antigonus. Eumenes earneſtly deſired that he might be heard; and, in the moſt affecting manner repreſented to the ſoldiers the folly of their conduct, and the reproach it muſt bring on them, recapitulating the many watchings and toils he had ſuſtained for their defence and glory; and beſeeching them, if his fate was determined, at leaſt to inflict the blow with their own hands, and not commit him to the vengeance of his inveterate enemy. But all was in vain. They conducted him in the manner deſcribed to Antigonus's camp, the minority of the army lamenting the fate of their illuſtrious general. After confining him for ſome days, Antigonus put him to death [11].

who puts him to death;

It is worthy of notice, that Antigonus afterwards ſhowed particular favor to thoſe who had remained faithful to Eumenes, taking, on the other hand, every opportunity of cutting off the perſons who had ſhared in the treachery. As to the Argyraſpidae, he

treats the traitors with abhorrence.

[11] Olymp. cxvi. 1. Before Christ 315.

BOOK II Sect. 2.

ſent their whole body to the extremities of Aſia into the province of Arachoſia[14], under pretence of keeping the Barbarian nations in awe; but with private inſtructions, that they never ſhould be ſuffered to return to Greece[15].

Aridaeus and Eurydice murdered by Olympias.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in Aſia, Olympias purſued the moſt ſanguine meaſures in Macedon, and had cauſed both Philip Aridaeus and his wife Eurydice to be murdered. Aridaeus's death happened ſome months before that of Eumenes. From that time, the regal dignity and titles had been confined to Alexander, the ſon of Roxana; but the regency was in the hands of Olympias. We ſhall have occaſion to mention theſe tranſactions more fully in the hiſtory of Macedonian affairs.

Antigonus ſupplants the Aſiatic governors.

Antigonus had, by the removal of Eumenes, a free career before him, the governors of provinces, who had formerly been hoſtile to his intereſts, now made their ſubmiſſion, and even permitted their troops to be incorporated into his army; ſeveral of them he, nevertheleſs, ſacrificed afterwards to his ſuſpicions or his reſentment. One powerful commander ſtill remained, Seleucus[16], who held the government of Babylon, to which he had been appointed during the adminiſtration of Antipater. He was the avowed friend of Antigonus; had rendered him eſſential ſervices; and ſeemed to have joy in his ſucceſs. But Antigonus, in the pride of victory, could not bear that any man

[14] A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

[15] Plutarch in Eumene. Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3.

[16] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

ſhould hold authority in Aſia independent of him. In this ſpirit he advanced to Babylon, and, notwithſtanding the frank and magnificent reception he met with from Seleucus, demanded of him an account of the revenues of his province To this, Seleucus, who looked on Antigonus only as his equal, replied, that the province of Babylon had been conferred on him by the court of Macedon for his ſervices; and that he could not conceive why ſuch an account was demanded. But immediately after, conſidering in what manner Antigonus had treated other governors, and how unable he was to reſiſt his power, he with a ſmall party of horſe, made his eſcape from Babylon, and fled to Egypt. Antigonus would have purſued him; but Seleucus had been too expeditious.

Seleucus, governor of Babylon, flies to Egypt.

Accounts of the ſucceſſes of Antigonus had by this time been ſpread through all the neighbouring countries; and Ptolemy, finding the report confirmed by Seleucus, engaged Lyſimachus and Caſſander to enter into a confederacy with him for their mutual defence, and to endeavour to ſtop the progreſs of this enterprizing chief Caſſander, though after Antipater's death in great danger from Olympias and her party, from whoſe violence he was obliged to take refuge in Aſia, had now re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in Greece.

Confederacy formed againſt Antigonus.

Antigonus was not intimidated. Inſtead of waiting till his enemies ſhould attack him, he reſolved to begin by aſſailing them. Entering therefore the provinces of Coeleſyria and Phoenicia, he reduced a conſiderable part of them; and, having in the courſe of this expedition experienced much diſtreſs from the want of a fleet, undiſmayed by the difficulty of the

Antigonus invades Coeleſyria and Phoenicia, and takes Tyre;

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

undertaking, he ſet about building veſſels of his own, and before the end of ſummer, had fitted out five hundred ſhips of war. With theſe he ſailed to Tyre, laid ſiege to it, and took it, after a reſiſtance of ſeveral months.

Whilſt he was thus employed, Caſſander had made a deſcent on the coaſts of the Lower Aſia, which obliged Antigonus to haſten thither.

his army defeated at Gaza;

Ptolemy alſo had advanced from Egypt to Gaza, at the head of a formidable army; and having attacked Demetrius [17], whom his father Antigonus had left to command in his abſence, defeated him [18], and forced him to abandon the provinces lately conquered.

but is ſoon victorious.

Demetrius, however, ſoon wiped off the diſgrace of this overthrow by a ſignal victory obtained over Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals, in Upper Syria; and, being afterwards joined by Antigonus, recovered Coeleſyria and Phoenicia. The reduction or the loſs of theſe frontier-provinces ſeems, from theſe frequent revolutions, to have been a matter of little conſequence; their fate, ſome few places of ſtrength excepted, depending on the iſſue of a battle.

Seleucus obtains ſuccours from Ptolemy:

Notwithſtanding this turn of affairs in favor of Antigonus, the battle of Gaza proved exceedingly fatal to his intereſts, as it enabled Ptolemy to grant ſuccours to Seleucus; with which, though inconſiderable, the latter immediately marched to attempt the recovery of Babylon. The ſucceſs which attended

[17] Olymp. cxvi. 3. Before Christ 313.

[18] Plutarch in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 6.

this expedition, gives us a high idea of his reſolution, and his abilities for war, as well as of his capacity for government. Not deterred by the ſuperior power of Antigonus, and the numerous parties that might be expected to oppoſe his progreſs, with only about thirteen hundred men he penetrated through all that extent of country, which ſtretches from the coaſt of Phoenicia to Babylon: the farther he advanced, the more friends he found; and approaching the city, the whole body of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and to welcome his return with joyful acclamations [19]. So much had the lenity of his adminiſtration, during his former government, endeared him to theſe Aſiatic nations.

returns to Babylon,

From this time, the fortunes of Seleucus flouriſhed. Soon after his return, he defeated Nicanor, governor of Media; whom he ſlew in a ſecond engagement; and not only reduced the diſtrict of Babylon, but Media alſo and Suſiana, and by degrees many more of the adjacent provinces. Demetrius, indeed, got poſſeſſion of Babylon again, whilſt Seleucus was abſent on an expedition into Media, yet he found it impoſſible to hold it. And neither his father nor he could ever afterwards diſpoſſeſs Seleucus of that government.

and retains poſſeſſion of it.

The war between Antigonus and the confederates continued, however, to rage through moſt of the countries under the Macedonian empire. In one part of Greece, the Aetolians and Epirots, either in league with Antigonus, or encouraged by his

The war rages throughout Greece and Aſia.

[19] Olymp. cxvii. 1. Before Christ 311.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

intrigues, were up in arms. In the other parts of it, his creatures and emiſſaries were buſy in ruining the power of Caſſander. Under pretence of ſupporting the cauſe of liberty, they excited diſaffection and revolt; and prepared the way, upon the firſt opportunity, for a total revolution. Ptolemy had carried the war into the Lower Aſia, where he had made conſiderable conqueſts. At the ſame time his fleets were employed in reducing ſuch of the Aegean iſlands as were in the intereſt of Antigonus; whilſt the provinces that lay on the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus were expoſed to the depredations of Lyſimachus and Caſſander; the one from Macedon, the other from Thrace, committing repeated ravages. Theſe ſeveral enemies Antigonus oppoſed with a vigor that might almoſt be deemed incredible. Notwithſtanding the extent of the ſcene of operations, he attended to every part; he was aware of every danger. Defeated in one attempt, he immediately formed a new enterpriſe; and whatever he loſt in one engagement, he generally ſoon recovered in another.

The ability with which Antigonus oppoſed his various enemies.

In the mean time, a ceſſation of hoſtilities was frequently propoſed, and terms of accommodation ſeemed often to be nearly agreed upon; but theſe treaties either were not concluded, or were of ſhort continuance. It were ſuperfluous to mention them particularly. There is indeed reaſon to believe, that the overtures of peace were nothing more than mere political ſemblances, and arts to gain time. A deep-rooted jealouſy poſſeſſed every one of theſe ambitious princes, which was not to be removed but by the extermination of their rivals.

Obſtructions in the way of peace.

It

It is obſerved by hiſtorians, that, when theſe chiefs were negociating any treaty of peace, mention was always made that the ſeveral provinces, to which they laid claim, were only to be held in truſt for the young king Alexander. But even this thin veil to their ambitious views was ſoon to drop: for it became difficult for them longer to pretend regard for a royal family, whoſe blood they were ſhedding in every place without remorſe. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had been ſome time before this period murdered by Caſſander [20]; Cleopatra [21], his ſiſter, had lately been deſtroyed by Antigonus [22]. The young king himſelf, whoſe name they affected to uſe in their public acts, was not conſidered as ſuch by any of them. It was well known that Caſſander, as ſoon as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Macedon, had impriſoned Roxana and her ſon; not ſuffering the young prince to retain even the pageantry of royalty, but commanding that he ſhould thenceforth be treated as a private perſon. It was eaſy to conjecture, what Caſſander's farther intentions were. And accordingly, in a ſhort time, both the king and his mother

Falſhood of the ſeveral chiefs.

[20] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3. Juſt. L. xiv. c. 6.

[21] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 2.

[22] We have mentioned her already. She reſided at Sardis, where Antigonus had her ſtrictly obſerved. But finding, or pretending to have found, that ſhe meant to eſcape to Ptolemy, who had at this time invaded the Lower Aſia, he cauſed her to be put to death; though afterwards he endeavoured to caſt the odium of this execution on thoſe, who had been only the miniſters of his orders; and he honored her remains with a ſumptuous funeral.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

were put to death by his directions [23]. About two years after his death, Hercules, the ſon of Alexander by Barſine, the daughter of Artabazus, the only remaining prince of the royal line of Macedon, was, at the inſtigation of Caſſander alſo, murdered in a like perfidious manner [24].

Demetrius defeats the Egyptian fleet, and takes Cyprus.

It was high time, therefore, to throw off a diſguiſe, which it was now ridiculous to uſe. Antigonus led the way. His ſon Demetrius had made a powerful impreſſion on Greece, and taken Athens. From thence he had paſſed over to Cyprus, and had reduced the whole iſland; he had alſo beaten the Egyptian fleet commanded by Ptolemy; a victory the more ſplendid, as the Egyptians were then eſteemed one of the firſt nations of the world, for ſkill in naval affairs. When tidings therefore were brought to Antigonus, that Ptolemy was defeated, and Cyprus taken, the old man was ſo much elated that he immediately gave orders that he and his ſon ſhould be ſaluted kings of Syria [25].

Antigonus and Demetrius ſaluted kings.

Seleucus and Lyſimachus aſſume alſo the regal title.

The example was ſoon followed by Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Ptolemy for the preſent declined the honors of royalty, which his ſubjects preſſed him to accept. Mortified by his late defeat, he choſe to wait till he could be exalted to the rank of king with more ſplendor. Caſſander alſo affected not to aſſume the regal title himſelf, though he was not diſpleaſed that others ſhould uſe it in their addreſſes to him.

[23] OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.
[24] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 2.
[25] OLYMP. cxviii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 306.

The royal diadem did not inſpire Demetrius and his father with moderate views. They now talked of nothing leſs than annexing to Syria whatever kingdoms Alexander had lately held, and actually prepared for the conqueſt of Egypt. Antigonus put himſelf at the head of the land-forces, and Demetrius commanded the fleet. They found, however, that their mighty purpoſes were not to be eaſily effected. On the Phoenician coaſt they met with a ſtorm, which deſtroyed or diſabled moſt of their ſhips. Their land-troops had not better ſucceſs. From Gaza to Egypt they were to paſs through deſerts. After a painful march of ten days, and after contending with all the diſpiriting circumſtances of that hot and ſultry climate, they at length reached the Egyptian frontier; there they found new and greater difficulties; their fleet was miſerably ſhattered; the entrances into Egypt were effectually ſhut againſt them; even the mouths of the Nile were ſecured, and the whole coaſt lined with troops, diſpoſed in the moſt judicious manner. Ptolemy beſides had a ſtrong naval force at ſea, and an army of obſervation on land; and had ſpread diſaffection and diſtruſt among the Syrians, by offering large rewards to all who ſhould come over to him.

Antigonus and Demetrius prepare to invade Egypt.

Antigonus ſoon perceived his perilous ſituation, and haſtened back with the remainder of his fleet and army as expeditiouſly as he could.

are repulſed.

It was on this occaſion that Ptolemy, who now accounted himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Egypt, permitted the title of king[16],

Ptolemy accepts the regal title.

[16] Olymp. cxviii. 4. Before Christ 304.

BOOK II.

which he had hitherto refuſed, to be given to him [27].

Sect. 2.

Demetrius lays ſiege to Rhodes,

To reſtore reputation to his arms, which had ſuffered much diſgrace in the late expedition. Antigonus judged it neceſſary that ſome ſignal enterpriſe ſhould immediately be attempted. It was accordingly determined, that Demetrius ſhould undertake the conqueſt of Rhodes. The Rhodians were a people famed for their proweſs and naval ſkill; and from their extenſive commerce, as well as from the fertility of their ſoil, they derived great opulence. Such a conqueſt, therefore, bringing with it an equal acceſſion of wealth and power, could not fail to render Syria more formidable than ever. The Rhodians had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the part they had lately taken in favor of Ptolemy; ſo that there was a pretence of injuries, for which ſatisfaction might be demanded.

Demetrius having made the neceſſary preparations, landed on the iſland, and laid ſiege to the capital city.

[27] Diodorus Siculus (xx. 3.) and Plutarch (in Demetrio) ſuppoſe Ptolemy to have taken the title of king two years before this, at the ſame time with Antigonus; and Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians prevailed on him to aſſume it upon his return from Cyprus, "that he might not appear diſpirited with his "late defeat." But from Ptolemy's Chronological Canon it is evident, that his reign is only to be computed from this date (the 4th year of the 118th Olympiad) when he was now firmly ſettled on the throne, nineteen years after Alexander's death. Probably, the affectionate attachment of the Egyptians to this prince might have prompted them to give him the title at the time Diodorus and Plutarch mention; but Ptolemy himſelf was unwilling to aſſume it, until this diſperſion of his enemies relieved him from all farther apprehenſions.

Of all the princes of his time, Demetrius is ſaid to have been the firſt in military abilities, he was particularly expert in the conduct of ſieges, and had himſelf contrived a number of machines of ſingular conſtruction, and of amazing efficacy; on which account he got the name of Poliorcetes, *the ſtormer of cities*. All his ſkill ſeems to have been employed on this occaſion; but, by the indefatigable perſeverance and valor of the Rhodians, by the advantages they derived from their numerous fleets, and by the large ſupplies of men and ſtores of every kind furniſhed by moſt of the Grecian ſtates, but principally by Ptolemy, who exerted himſelf remarkably in their behalf, he was baffled in every attempt.

without ſucceſs;

What diſcouraged him moſt, was the failure of his Helepolis, or *City-taker;* a machine ſo called from it's powerful operation. It is deſcribed as a moveable tower, framed of timber exceedingly ſtrong, and girt with plates of iron; of a height ſufficient to command the walls of the beſieged city, and leſſening gradually, ſo that the top was much narrower than the baſe; the inſide was divided into floors open towards the enemy, each of which was filled with combatants, and a number of machines for the diſcharge of various kinds of miſſive weapons; it was covered principally with raw hides, and on the top was a layer of mud, that the enemy might not have it in their power to ſet it on fire. It moved on wheels, or rather caſters, by means of which its operations could be varied with leſs difficulty.

his powerful machines;

Demetrius had prepared one of theſe engines, the moſt formidable, ſay hiſtorians, that had ever been

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

seen. We may judge of its weight, and the force with which it was impelled, from the number of men employed to move it. They amounted, Diodorus [28] tells us, to three thouſand four hundred of the ſtrongeſt that could be found. A Rhodian undertook to render this vaſt machine uſeleſs. Unobſerved by the enemy, he contrived to undermine the ground over which it was to paſs; and the Helepolis having ſunk into the earth, could never, from it's enormous weight, be raiſed again [29]. The ſiege had now laſted a whole year, and the vigor of the beſieged had not in the leaſt degree abated. Such unexpected reſiſtance diſpoſed Demetrius to yield to the ſolicitations of the ſtates of Greece, who had all been earneſt in their mediation in favor of the Rhodians: and the affairs of that country alſo afforded him a plauſible pretence for abandoning his preſent enterpriſe. Urgent repreſentations had been made to him of the oppreſſions of Caſſander, and of the diſtreſſed ſtate of Athens, which was in danger of falling into his hands; Demetrius reſolved to attempt the relief of that city, and concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Rhodes. His engines of war he alſo preſented them with; the value of which was ſo conſiderable, that from the ſale of them they were enabled to raiſe their famed Coloſſus, or brazen ſtatue of the ſun, which, from it's extraordinary ſize, has been ranked among the wonders of the world.

is diſappointed in their effects;

raiſes the ſiege, and makes peace with the Rhodians.

The gratitude of the Rhodians to Ptolemy.

It was on account of the important ſervices per-

[28] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

[29] Vegetius de re militari.

formed by Ptolemy to the Rhodians during this ſiege, that they gave him the name of Soter, the *Deliverer*, by which he is known in hiſtory. They alſo erected a number of ſtatues to him; and, in the exceſs of their gratitude, are ſaid to have even paid him divine honors [30].

The painter Protogenes.

The ſiege of Rhodes has been alſo rendered memorable by a circumſtance related of Protogenes, one of the moſt eminent painters of Greece. He was at this time employed in painting his Jalyſus (a fabulous hero, ſaid to be the founder of the Rhodian people) a piece eſteemed one of the wonders of antiquity. His houſe was in the ſuburbs; and, as if inſenſible of the din of war, he calmly continued his work whilſt Demetrius's troops were carrying on their operations on every ſide of him. Demetrius, amazed at his apparent intrepidity, aſked him why he did not, like others, retire to a place of greater ſafety; "Princes like you," replied the painter, "never war againſt the arts." The prince, who was himſelf a perſon of high accompliſhments, and naturally generous, was ſo well pleaſed with the anſwer, that he appointed a guard for his protection.

One of the moſt admired figures in this piece was a dog, which had coſt the painter immenſe labor, without his being able to expreſs the idea he had conceived. He meant to repreſent the animal in a

[30] They ſent, Diodorus ſays (xx. 5) to inquire of the oracle of Hammon, whether they ſhould worſhip Ptolemy as a god. In the preſent ſituation of affairs, we may eaſily judge what the oracle pronounced. And accordingly a grove encompaſſed with a ſtately gallery was conſecrated to him.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

panting attitude, foaming, ſo that the foam ſhould appear actually to iſſue from his mouth. After retouching it frequently, and ſtill without ſucceſs, he at laſt, in the rage of diſappointment, darted at the picture the ſponge, with which he uſed to wipe off his colors; and "chance," ſays Pliny [31], "accom-"pliſhed what art had not the power to perform." In the ſame piece was alſo repreſented a thruſh on the top of a column, ſo admirably well executed, that, when the picture was expoſed to public view, certain bird-catchers with thruſhes, having ſtopt to admire it, the birds, miſtaking the painted bird for a real one, began to ſing to it.

When Apelles [32] ſaw this picture, he was ſo tranſported, it is ſaid, with admiration, that his ſpeech failed him; and upon recovering from his aſtoniſhment, he exclaimed, "prodigious work!" "won-"derful performance! — however," added he, "it "has not all the graces the world admires in my "works." If the anecdote is true, this laſt obſervation, apparently the language of envy, proves, perhaps more ſtrongly than the moſt laviſh praiſes, the extraordinary merit of the piece.

Demetrius forces Caſſander to raiſe the ſiege of Athens;

Demetrius's expedition into Greece was attended with better ſucceſs than he had of late met with. Caſſander had inveſted Athens; Demetrius forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and, taking advantage of the broken condition of his army, preſſed him with ſuch vigor, that he was under the neceſſity of aban-

[31] L. xxxvii. c. 10.

[32] Plutarch in Demetrio.

doning all he held to the ſouthward of Theſſaly, and of withdrawing his troops into Macedon. Even his retreat he effected with difficulty [33]; Demetrius having attacked him in his march, and obliged him to conſult his ſafety by a precipitate flight.

reduces all Greece.

The reduction of the greater part of Greece immediately followed; not only the ſeveral cities from the ſtreights of Thermopylae to the iſthmus of Corinth, but alſo moſt of thoſe of Peloponneſus, ſubmitted to Demetrius; the Macedonian garriſons having evacuated all the places of which they were in poſſeſſion. He now ſaw his power exceedingly augmented, while at the ſame time he enjoyed the glory of being conſidered as the *reſtorer of the liberties of an oppreſſed people*. And, that no honors might be wanting, the ſolemn convention of the Grecian ſtates at the iſthmus proclaimed him general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had formerly been.

receives high honors from the Grecian ſtates;

This flow of proſperity, hiſtorians obſerve, proved the ruin of Demetrius. He had now no enemy near him. And, naturally diſpoſed to the purſuit of pleaſure, he was but too much encouraged to it by the effeminate manners of the Greeks; who, on their part, to teſtify their gratitude to their protector, ſought every opportunity of adminiſtering to his amuſement and gratification. The Athenian orators, in particular, contributed much to corrupt his mind. They offered him the moſt fulſome adulations. They made him almoſt forget he was a man [34].

becomes voluptuous and vain.

[33] Plut. in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. L. xx c 5.

[34] Plut. ub. ſup. See more at large the exceſſive flatteries of the Athenians to Demetrius, in Book iii. Sect. 1. of this work.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

This change of fortune had likewiſe it's influence on Antigonus, and greatly increaſed the arrogance which had always marked his character. He ſcrupled not even to avow his hopes of eſtabliſhing his power on the ruins of that of all the other princes. And, inſtead of taking this opportunity of concluding an advantageous peace with Caſſander, who condeſcended to aſk it in the moſt ſuppliant language, he required him to ſubmit at diſcretion, and to leave the kingdom of Macedon entirely at his diſpoſal.

Inſolence of Antigonus.

The alliance of the other kings againſt Antigonus and his ſon.

Caſſander applied to the confederate princes; and they, willing to humble a pride from which they themſelves had much to fear, reſolved to employ their moſt vigorous efforts againſt Antigonus and his ſon, and, if poſſible, to try the iſſue of a general engagement. Accordingly Seleucus began to move from Babylon, as did Lyſimachus from Thrace; and theſe princes, having received conſiderable reinforcements both from Macedon and from Egypt, advanced, after ſome operations of little importance, into the provinces of Phrygia, where Antigonus and Demetrius were preparing to meet them. Near to Ipſus, an inconſiderable town in this province, the battle was fought, which terminated the empire and life of Antigonus[35]. The Syrians were totally defeated, and Demetrius made his eſcape with only nine thouſand men, out of above eighty thouſand, of which his army had conſiſted. The victory is ſaid to have been obtained chiefly by the ſuperior addreſs of Seleucus, who took advantage of Deme-

Battle of Ipſus.

[35] OLYMP. CXX. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 299.

trius's warmth, in purſuing too far a body of the enemy, which he had broken.

Sect. 2.

Antigonus was aged eighty-four years when he fell. He appears to have been a prince of great perſonal courage and abilities in war; but of a ſpirit exceedingly haughty and imperious. Leſs ambitious, and more moderate in the uſe of power, he might have ended his days in the peaceable poſſeſſion of a rich and mighty kingdom.

Antigonus is slain.

What were the latter fortunes of Demetrius, is an inquiry that belongs not to this place As they are, however, much connected with the preceding narrative, it will not be improper to bring them together into one view.

Fortunes of Demetrius:

With the ſlender remains of his army he retired to the ſea-coaſt, in order to paſs over to Athens, where his principal dependence was. He now found how hollow are the profeſſions of flattery. The Athenians, who had been extravagant in their praiſes, when he was attended with victory, refuſed even to receive him into their city, under pretext of ſome late edict, by which they were forbidden to admit a crowned head within their walls[36]. But this was not the time for revenge: having, therefore, obtained from them his gallies, together with his queen and royal retinue, which he had left behind him when he went laſt to Aſia; and having viſited certain places in Peloponneſus, in which he ſtill had garriſons; he ſailed to the coaſt of Thrace, where, to wreak his vengeance on Lyſimachus, he made

is refuſed admittance into Athens;

[36] Plutarch in Demetrio.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

deſcents on ſeveral parts, and committed great devaſtation.

Whilſt he was in this wandering condition, Seleucus, who had heard much of his daughter Stratonice, reputed the moſt beautiful woman of her time, ſent to demand her in marriage. Amazed at this turn of fortune in his favor, Demetrius failed not to avail himſelf of it, and immediately ſhaped his courſe towards Syria with the princeſs. On his way, having landed in Cilicia for ſome refreſhments, and finding the opportunity favorable, he plundered the caſtle of Cuinda [37], which had formerly belonged to Antigonus, but was now the property of Pliſtarchus, brother to Caſſander, the confederate princes having beſtowed it on him, together with the whole province. He then purſued his voyage, and delivered his daughter to Seleucus; who celebrated his nuptials in the moſt ſplendid manner, and entertained his new father-in-law with much ſhow of regard and confidence, having even prevailed on Ptolemy to give him his daughter Ptolemais in marriage. On his return, Demetrius determined to make a ſecond deſcent in Cilicia; and finding it without defence, got entire poſſeſſion of that province. Seleucus interpoſed, and threatened; but Demetrius would not reſign ſo valuable an acquiſition.

marries his daughter Stratonice to Seleucus;

plunders the caſtle of Cuinda,

and poſſeſſes himſelf of Cilicia;

He was now, he imagined, ſtrong enough to revenge himſelf on the Athenians. Paſſing over, therefore, into Greece, he laid cloſe ſiege to Athens, and reduced it to ſuch extremity, that a *modius* of

reduces Athens;

[37] See Strab. (Caſaub.) L. xiv. p. 462.

wheat (about a peck) was sold for three hundred drachms[18]. Lachares, a turbulent demagogue, had, under the assumed character of *champion of the people*, invaded the administration, and directed all public measures with absolute sway; and to him were owing the present counsels. Reduced by famine, the Athenians were at last obliged to surrender at discretion; and, Lachares having saved himself by flight, Demetrius accepted their submission, and, far from punishing them for their ingratitude, presented them with a hundred thousand measures of wheat, requiring only, that they should receive a garrison into their city. Plutarch[19] relates, on this occasion, a whimsical circumstance, which strongly marks the turn of genius both of Demetrius and of the Athenian people. Upon his entering Athens, he had ordered them to repair to the theatre, and after keeping them for some time in expectation of their fate, he on a sudden made his appearance on the stage, descending from above, in the manner of the players, when representing the Pagan divinities; he began to harangue them, not with anger, but in a set speech, filled with soothing expostulations and flowers of oratory, in which he was fond of being thought to excel. In the midst of his harangue, an Athenian starting up, informed him, that the phrase he had just made use of, was incompatible with the purity of the Attic language: "I give you fifty "thousand measures of wheat more," cried Deme-

his generosity,

and frivolous manners:

[18] £. 8. 11 s. 10½ d.

[19] In Apopthegm.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

trius, "in acknowledgment of the improvement "I have received from that Athenian's friendly "information."

he attacks and defeats the Spartans;

From Athens he marched into Peloponneſus, with a view to make himſelf maſter alſo of Sparta; and the Spartans, led on by their king Archidamus, having advanced to oppoſe him, he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory.

ſtripped of all he held in Aſia;

The conſequence might have proved fatal to Lacedaemon. But as the victor was preparing to purſue this ſucceſs, his affairs ſuddenly took a different turn. He received advice that Seleucus and Lyſimachus had diſpoſſeſſed him of all he held in Aſia[40]; and that Ptolemy had invaded Cyprus, and reduced the whole iſland, Salamis excepted, which he was then beſieging. Probably the progreſs of Demetrius in Greece had awakened the apprehenſions of theſe princes.

finds himſelf in diſtreſs;

Diſcouraged by this unexpected reverſe, he had given up all for loſt, when a new and unlooked for proſpect opened to him.

is invited to march into Macedon,

Caſſander king of Macedon was dead[41], and his two ſons, Antipater and Alexander, had each laid claim to the kingdom. The former was ſupported by Lyſimachus, whoſe daughter he had married; and the latter applied to Demetrius, who haſtened to his aſſiſtance. But having, in the mean time, obtained

[40] Seleucus, as appears from Plutarch (in Demet.) had offered him a ſum of money for Cilicia; and, upon his refuſal, had inſiſted on having Tyre and Sidon given up to him.

[41] Juſt. L. xvi. c. 1, 2, 3. Plutarch in Demetrio.

ſuccours from Pyrrhus, Alexander would have declined the interpoſition of Demetrius, of whom he began to entertain ſuſpicions; and, finding himſelf under conſiderable embarraſſment on that ſcore, intended to get rid of him by violent means. So, at leaſt, Demetrius wiſhed to have it underſtood; for, under color of this conviction, he cauſed Alexander to be aſſaſſinated at an entertainment to which he had invited him: and, having then laid before the Macedonians the perfidious intentions of Alexander, and the juſt claim he himſelf had to the crown in right of his wife Phila, daughter to Antipater, he contrived to gain a party over to his intereſts, and got poſſeſſion of the kingdom.

and gets poſſeſſion of the kingdom;

He might have held the ſceptre of Macedon many years, had the experience of misfortunes taught him wiſdom. But, inſtead of endeavouring to repair the waſte and devaſtation which this unhappy kingdom had ſuffered from conſtant wars, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne, he immediately engaged in new military operations on the ſide of Greece, on the ſide of Aetolia, on the ſide of Epire, on the ſide of Thrace. And, at the ſame time, by his profuſe luxury, his vanity, and haughtineſs, it ſeemed as if he induſtriouſly ſought to render his government odious. In his dreſs he affected an exceſs of magnificence nearly theatrical, ſuch as no prince who reigned after him was ever vain enough to imitate [42]. His court was a continued ſcene of diſſipation and riot; and, though of free acceſs to the miniſters of

[42] Plutarch in Demetrio.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

his pleaſures, he ſcarcely would ſuffer any other of his ſubjects, or even the miniſters of foreign ſtates, to approach him. As if this folly had been too little, either, from a reſtleſs ambition, or, as ſome writers ſay, that the Macedonians might not have leiſure to form deſigns againſt him, he maintained formidable armaments both by ſea and land, to recover, he pretended, the dominions which his father and himſelf had formerly poſſeſſed in Aſia.

loſes it again;

Alarmed at theſe preparations, and probably ſolicited by the Macedonians themſelves, Ptolemy and Lyſimachus determined to prevent him: the former ſailed with a powerful fleet to invade Greece by ſea, the latter entered Macedon on the ſide of Thrace; whilſt Pyrrhus, whom they had engaged in their alliance, advanced from Epirus. Never was Demetrius in a more critical ſituation: he was encompaſſed by enemies; and the Macedonians, to a man, diſaffected, were on the point of declaring againſt him. He ſaw no reſource left, but to ſave himſelf by flight. Having accordingly put on the habit of a private ſoldier, he, under that diſguiſe, quitted the camp, and eſcaped to Caſſandria [91].

eſcapes in diſguiſe to Caſſandria;

again attempts Athens;

He had ſtill hopes that he ſhould find the Athenians faithful to him; but thoſe days, when misfortunes were a recommendation at Athens, were long ſince paſſed. Olympiodorus, now the popular leader, perſuaded the citizens to avail themſelves of the opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke that diſgraced them;

[91] Subdued by this overthrow of all her hopes, his wife Philla, in a fit of deſpair, poiſoned herſelf. — Plut. in Demetrio.

them; and it was resolved that their gates should be shut against him. Demetrius would have had recourse to vindictive measures; but the interposition of the philosopher Crates [44], according to some historians, or, which is more likely, the want of means, induced him to desist.

is refused admittance;

Notwithstanding all these humiliating events, the spirit of enterprise had not yet forsaken Demetrius. After making what provision he could for the security of the few places he still held in Greece, he planned a new expedition, purposing nothing less than to recover the provinces of Lydia and Caria from Lysimachus. The whole force he could muster, when he left Europe, amounted only to eleven thousand men, all of them, like their leader, of desperate fortunes, and ripe for any adventure. This plan proved as unsuccessful as it was rashly formed. Agathocles, son to Lysimachus, was prepared to receive him at the head of a superior army; an advantage which he improved with great ability, carefully avoiding a general engagement, but wasting the small force Demetrius had brought with him, by frequent skirmishes, by constant harassing, by depriving them of subsistence: so that at length, after shifting his quarters from place to place, and having seen the greatest part of his troops consumed by fatigue and famine, he was forced to retreat to Tarsus in Cilicia, which now belonged to Seleucus, from whence he sent to his son-in-law, entreating his compassion in the most humiliating terms.

plans a new expedition into Asia;

is involved in great difficulties;

[44] Plut. in Demetrio.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

Seleucus was diſpoſed to afford him ſhelter in his dominions, and to ſupply both him and his troops with neceſſaries; but his miniſters oppoſed it. They repreſented the many dangers to be apprehended from a prince like Demetrius, ambitious, experienced, active, fertile in reſources, and not to be ſubdued by misfortunes. Seleucus at laſt yielded to their remonſtrances, and marched againſt him. In this ſituation Demetrius is ſaid to have done all that valor and military ſkill could perform. But overpowered, and having no expedient left, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſurrendering to Seleucus.

is under the neceſſity of ſurrendering to Seleucus:

Seleucus was once more inclined to have acted nobly towards him. He had even thoughts of bringing him to his court, and of entertaining him there in royal ſplendor. But his miniſters would not permit it; and at laſt obtained of the king, that he ſhould be ſent under a ſtrong guard to a place of ſafety in the Syrian Cherſoneſus. Seleucus, however, took care, that he ſhould have every indulgence, that could render his captivity leſs irkſome; the uſe of a ſpacious park; a number of fine horſes; a princely table; with whatever other amuſements he appeared to deſire. But what are theſe without liberty? He lived about three years in this ſtate of confinement; and died at laſt of a diſtemper, brought on partly by the reflections which his melancholy ſituation muſt have ſuggeſted to him, and partly by exceſs in wine, to which he had recourſe in order to drown recollection.

ends his days in confinement;

From what Plutarch [45] relates, there is reaſon to

[45] Ubi ſupra. See his directions at length in Plutarch.

believe, that during his captivity he recovered, in a great measure, that excellent understanding which he had received from nature. The manner in which he wrote to his son Antigonus, speaks him a better father and a wiser prince than from his former conduct we should be apt to think him. He recommended it to him, "to attend especially to the preservation "of the places he still occupied in Greece, and not "to yield up the possession of any of them to any "person, or on any pretence whatever; but to look "upon him as dead, and, from that day, not to "give credit to any letter or order that should come "from him, though written with his own hand, "and sealed with his own signet."

his directions to his son.

Antigonus, to his honor, employed every solicitation in his power to obtain his father's liberty, conjuring the other kings to interpose in his behalf, and offering to give up all his possessions, and even his own person as a security. But no terms could be accepted. Demetrius was still too formidable. Lysimachus, it is said, offered a vast sum, on condition he should be put to death; a proposal which Seleucus rejected with indignation [46].

noble conduct of Antigonus.

Had not Demetrius suffered the blandishments of pleasure to prevail over him, he had been the first of all the princes of his time. Possessed by nature of uncommon powers of mind, he had improved them highly by cultivation. He had, at the same time,

Character of Demetrius.

[46] Demetrius is supposed to have died the third year of the 123d Olympiad, or 284 years before Christ; so that fifteen years elapsed between the battle of Ipsus and his death.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

all the advantages that external grace and elegance of form can beſtow; and ſo inimitably beautiful was his countenance, if Plutarch may be believed, that neither painter nor ſtatuary could ever execute an exact portrait of him; "the animated air of youth "being blended in him, with the aweful majeſty of "the hero and the king." In his behaviour, the ſame happy aſſociation appeared. In his hours of leiſure, he was a moſt agreeable and captivating companion; in his entertainments, the moſt ſumptuous of princes; yet, when buſineſs called, hardly to be equalled in activity and application. In addition to all this, he was brave; of conſummate ſkill in military affairs; and, until corrupted by proſperity and adulation, humane and generous. His affectionate and dutiful attention to his father, in the midſt of all his diſſipation, has been alſo juſtly celebrated by every writer that has mentioned him.

beauty of his perſon; accomplishment; verſatility; attachment to his father;

Two remarkable inſtances of his generoſity of ſpirit have been tranſmitted to us by hiſtory. He employed his utmoſt endeavours to ſave the life of Eumenes [47]; and probably would have ſucceeded, had not his father's miniſters impreſſed him with gloomy apprehenſions of what that gallant chief might afterwards attempt againſt him. The life of Mithridates, the ſon of Ariobarzanes, he actually ſaved [48]. This Mithridates was a young Aſiatic nobleman of unblemiſhed manners, and the conſtant companion of Demetrius. But Antigonus had con-

generoſity in behalf of Eumenes, and Mithridates.

[47] Plut. in Eumene.

[48] Plut. in Demetrio.

ceived a jealouſy of him. He dreamed, that he had entered a fair and ſpacious field, and ſowed it with filings of gold, from which in a ſhort time there had ariſen a golden crop; but that, ſoon after, returning to viſit it, he found it cut down, and heard the people ſay, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harveſt, and had carried it off towards the Euxine ſea.

Diſturbed at this dream, he communicated it to Demetrius, with his reſolution of deſtroying Mithridates; binding, at the ſame time, his ſon by an oath, that he ſhould not ſpeak to him either of the dream or of its conſequences. The enſuing day Mithridates came as uſual to attend the prince in his amuſements; when, taking an opportunity of drawing him aſide, Demetrius with the point of his ſpear wrote on the ground, "Fly, Mithridates." He fled accordingly that night into Cappadocia; and fate ſoon accompliſhed for Mithridates the thing which Antigonus had dreaded; for he conquered a rich and extenſive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight ſucceſſions, until it was at laſt deſtroyed by the Romans [a].

[a] Beſide a number of children by other wives and concubines, Demetrius left by Philla, daughter of Antipater, and widow of Craterus, a ſon named Antigonus, afterwards king of Macedon, and the famed Stratonice: and by Ptolemais, another ſon, called Demetrius, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to make mention hereafter.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

View of the domeſtic ſtate of the kingdom of Macedon, under the adminiſtration of Antipater — Polyperchon — Caſſander — and Demetrius Poliorcetes — misfortunes — and final overthrow of Alexander's whole family.

BOOK III. Sect. I. Effects of Alexander's reign to Macedon.

THE reign of Alexander, though accounted the aera of glory for the Macedonian people, was far from advancing the internal happineſs and proſperity of their country. A nation deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, at a ſeaſon of life when his activity and vigor of mind might have been of important benefit; exhauſted[1] of their moſt valuable citizens to

[1] It appears from Diod. Sic. xviii. 1. that when Antipater marched againſt Leoſthenes, it was not poſſible for him to muſter more than thirteen thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. *Such*, ſays the hiſtorian, *was the ſcarcity of ſoldiers in Macedon, in conſequence of the frequent draughts to recruit the armies in Aſia.*

repair the waſte of diſtant wars; and diſtracted by that conflict of factions, to which a delegated government is generally expoſed; muſt ever find much real cauſe, amidſt all the faſcinating glare of conqueſt, to lament the boundleſs ambition of their prince. Such was Macedon during this boaſted period. Whilſt the treaſures, which poured in from every part of Aſia, proved no compenſation for thoſe accumulated evils, they corrupted the ſimplicity of the Macedonian manners. And this hardy people, who, under the preſſure of poverty, and the diſadvantages of a rough and confined territory, had preſerved their independence, now ſunk into luxury, debility, and ſervitude.

Antipater's character as a miniſter.

Antipater, whom Alexander had appointed to the adminiſtration of Macedonian affairs, appears to have been well qualified for the ſtation his maſter had aſſigned to him. He was to reſtrain within their limits thoſe fierce borderers, by whom a conſiderable part of Macedon was ſurrounded: he was to obſerve the motions, and counteract the deſigns, of the ſeveral commonwealths of Greece, who entertained an avowed jealouſy of Alexander, and were prepared to ſeize the firſt opportunity of re-aſſerting their ancient liberties: he was to introduce at home a more abſolute government, and bend the Macedonians to a ſubjection hitherto unknown to them. At the ſame time, he had to ſupport himſelf againſt the intrigues of ſome of the principal of the Macedonian nobles, who beheld with jealouſy and indignation a man, lately their equal, now exalted above them; and who were encouraged in their diſaffection by the

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

countenance and artifices of Olympias, the king's mother, a woman of violent temper, fond of power, and therefore impatient of the control which Antipater's authority impoſed upon her.

his capacity;

Antipater poſſeſſed all the qualifications requiſite for theſe various purpoſes. To great military abilities he joined the ſubtilty and reſerve of the ſtateſman; he was vigilant, vigorous, and ſteady; with a firm hand he held the reins of government, notwithſtanding Olympias's repeated attempts to wreſt them from him; he ſuppreſſed every commotion; he baffled every confederacy; the turbulence of the Macedonians he awed; the Greeks he humbled; he was implacable when provoked; and ſanguinary in gratifying his reſentments. His treatment of the two Athenian orators, Demoſthenes and Hyperides, proves how dangerous it was to offend him. It is affirmed, that he cauſed the tongue of the latter to be cut out, in revenge for the invectives it had uttered againſt him.

If we conſider him as the confidential ſervant of a prince, whoſe object was the ſubverſion of all liberty, he was an uſeful miniſter; if as the magiſtrate of a free ſtate, who was bound to pay regard to the rights of mankind, he was a tyrannical and mercileſs

and oppreſſion:

oppreſſor. Accordingly, both theſe characters he bears in hiſtory, agreeably to the different principles of the ſeveral writers by whom he is mentioned.

was to have been diſplaced.

He was to have been removed, had Alexander ſurvived. It is thought, that the intrigues of Olympias, and her faction, had at length prevailed, and that his prince began to ſuſpect him of views

inconſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject. Perhaps his expreſſing too freely his ſentiments concerning the execution of Parmenio had reached the king. For upon hearing the fate of that gallant general, in aſtoniſhment he cried out [2], "if Parmenio has conſpired againſt his maſter, whom are we to truſt? and if he has not, how are we to act?" Words pregnant with ſo much meaning, had they come to Alexander's knowledge, would hardly have been forgiven.

His vigorous oppoſition to the Greek inſurgents;

When tidings of Alexander's death reached Greece, moſt of it's ſtates, as we have ſeen, roſe up in arms. Antipater was not diſconcerted. Precarious as his ſituation was on the ſide of Macedon, and with numbers far inferior to the enemy, he met them in battle, and, though worſted, had the art to collect together the broken remains of his army, and to poſſeſs himſelf of Lamia in Theſſaly, a place capable of defence. Leonnatus, one of Alexander's captains, advanced to his aſſiſtance, and was defeated and ſlain. This incident, however diſaſtrous in appearance, Antipater improved likewiſe to his advantage. The death of Leonnatus had delivered him from a rival, of whom he was jealous; he found means to eſcape from Lamia, whilſt the Greeks were engaged with Leonnatus, whoſe troops having been little more than diſperſed, he contrived to recover moſt of them, and to incorporate them into his army, by which he was enabled to look the confederates in the face; whilſt Craterus, having in the

[2] Plutarch in Apophthegm.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

mean time arrived from Aſia, joined him alſo with conſiderable ſuccours. This general was to have ſucceeded him in the government of Macedon: but, as Alexander's appointments had all ceaſed with his life, Craterus was now contented to ſhare the government with Antipater; who, to attach him more ſtrongly to his intereſts, gave him his daughter Philla in marriage, one of the moſt accompliſhed women of her time. Soon after, was fought the battle of Cranon, which, as has been already obſerved, proved fatal to Greece, obliging the Athenians to ſurrender their liberties to the Macedonian leaders, and to receive a garriſon from them. The Aetolians, though not leſs active in promoting the war, obtained peace on eaſier terms. The bold enterpriſes of Perdiccas had by this time rouſed the jealouſy of the other commanders; and Antipater haſtened to ſettle the affairs of Greece, in order to be at leiſure to oppoſe that leader in Aſia.

is appointed to ſucceed Perdiccas;

The ſucceeding events were not unfavorable to Antipater's fortunes. Craterus having fallen in battle againſt Eumenes, he found himſelf again in poſſeſſion of the whole government of Macedon. And Perdiccas, as we have related, being ſlain in Egypt, he was appointed regent [3], and Philip Aridaeus, and the young king Alexander, were conſigned to his protection.

[3] Upon the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy appointed Aridaeus and Python, two of Alexander's captains, to the protectorſhip; but meeting with a formidable oppoſition from Eurydice and her friends, they reſigned, and the Macedonians choſe Antipater. See Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 3.

From this period the power of Antipater over Greece and Macedon was uncontrolled; but this authority in other parts of the empire was little more than nominal.

names Polyperchon for his ſucceſſor;

What ſeems moſt extraordinary in Antipater's conduct, is the laſt act of his life. On his death-bed he named Polyperchon, one of Alexander's captains, but no way diſtinguiſhed by any particular merit, to ſucceed him in the government of Macedon, and to the office of protector; to the excluſion of his own ſon Caſſander, whom he only appointed to the poſt of chiliarch, or captain of a thouſand men. It has been ſaid, that Auguſtus bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, that in the violences of his ſucceſſor, the Romans might forget the crimes of which he himſelf had been guilty. A ſimilar ſuſpicion might, with as good reaſon, be entertained of Antipater; for never man ſeemed leſs fitted than Polyperchon for the diſcharge of this arduous truſt. Without vigor; without firmneſs; mean; cruel; perfidious. A dupe to thoſe who had the art to gain his confidence, he knew not how to render his authority reſpectable, or to conciliate the affections of men. What conſiderations could have moved Antipater to this appointment, hiſtory does not diſcloſe. Whether he thought that Caſſander's impetuous temper was ill ſuited to the preſent times; or that, vain and high-ſpirited, power in his hands might produce his deſtruction; or whether he had conceived diſguſt at his ſon, on account of his private life; are the conjectures of different writers;—but of the truth it is not poſſible to determine.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

with what view.

What ſeems, however, moſt probable, is, that, for ſome time before Antipater's death, Polyperchon, having entertained hopes of ſucceeding him, had employed the uſual intrigues for accompliſhing his ambitious views. This Antipater having diſcovered, and finding that the ſtrength of Polyperchon's party, aided by the friends of Olympias, would, in oppoſition to his own views, infallibly prevail in the iſſue, he choſe to have himſelf the merit of the appointment, in expectation of ſecuring to his family a protector, where they might otherwiſe have found an enemy. It appears from Diodorus [6], that he dreaded the influence which Olympias was likely to obtain under the new adminiſtration, and endeavoured to guard againſt it. His laſt charge to Polyperchon was, to keep her at a diſtance from the adminiſtration of affairs, which, if ſhe engaged in, her paſſions would ſoon throw into confuſion.

Polyperchon adopts new counſels;

Polyperchon paid little regard either to the inſtructions of Antipater, or to the obligations he might be ſuppoſed to owe to his predeceſſor, had he conſidered his appointment as the act of his choice. His firſt ſtep was to recal Olympias from Epire, whither ſhe had retired. But her enemies were ſtill too formidable, and the minds of men too much exaſperated, for her to venture immediately. She deferred accepting the invitation, until ſhe could enjoy a full exertion of power. And it is believed, that whatever meaſures Polyperchon, from this period, purſued, were in obedience to her directions. He removed

[6] L. xix. c. 1.

every perſon who had been in the intereſts of Antipater, and reſtored throughout the Greek cities the democratical form of government, which had been aboliſhed. A general confuſion, as might be expected, enſued; the popular faction, naturally violent in their reſentment, fell almoſt every where on thoſe who were ſuſpected of being inſtrumental in their diſgrace. At Athens particularly, though the Munychia and Piraeus were ſtill held by Antipater's garriſons, they ſeized on Phocion, and as many of his friends as they could find, whom they ſent to Philip Aridaeus and Polyperchon, to anſwer for the ſhare they were ſuppoſed to have had in the late adminiſtration. Polyperchon pronounced their condemnation [5], and remitted them to Athens, where they were put to death [6]. Phocion has been already mentioned. He was a man of the greateſt probity of his time, and had with unwearied endeavours ſtudied the happineſs of his country. Probably his integrity made him more obnoxious in the eyes of Polyperchon. Similar diſtractions prevailed in moſt of the other cities; and, becauſe the Megalopolitans declared themſelves ſatisfied with the form of government Antipater had eſtabliſhed, and refuſed to change it, Polyperchon marched his army againſt them.

reſtores democratical government throughout Greece.

Phocion put to death:

Meanwhile, Caſſander, who ſaw there was no ſafety for him in Macedon, fled to Antigonus [7],

Caſſander flies to Antigonus;

[5] OLYMP. CXV. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 316.

[6] Plutarch in Phocione.

[7] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 4.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

who at this time was employed in profecuting his plan of empire in Aſia. He was received with cordiality and kindneſs, and Antigonus ſoon enabled him to return with effectual ſuccours. Affection, nevertheleſs, had no ſhare in this attention. Antigonus hated Polyperchon; was jealous of the authority he derived from acting under the royal ſanction; and was glad of the opportunity of raiſing enemies againſt him at home, and of preventing him from interfering in the Aſiatic provinces.

receives ſupport, and ſails back to Athens;

Thus ſupported, Caſſander ſailed back to Athens, and entered the Piraeus, of which Nicanor, the governor appointed by his father, had ſtill poſſeſſion. Polyperchon, upon the firſt alarm, immediately turned his attention thither. He attacked him by land and ſea, yet proved unſucceſsful in both. His fleet, after obtaining at firſt ſome inconſiderable advantages, was totally defeated by that of Caſſander. Athens, already partly in the hands of the enemy, and without proſpect of relief from Polyperchon, was forced to ſubmit, and to accept a governor named by Caſſander. He appointed Demetrius Phalereus [2], the famed diſciple of Theophraſtus; of whoſe principles he was aſſured, from his intimate connexion with Phocion; and whoſe philoſophical turn of mind ſeemed well adapted to the genius of the people he was to govern.

defeats Polyperchon's fleet;

appoints Demetrius Phalereus governor of Athens.

Polyperchon retires to Macedon;

The reduction of Athens completed the ruin of Polyperchon's affairs in Greece. The Peloponneſian ſtates were already in the intereſts of Caſſander. In

[2] Olymp. cxv. 4. Before Chriſt 315.

[3] Juſt.

moſt of the other cities, likewiſe, the friends of the houſe of Antipater were beginning to ſhow themſelves; ſo that Polyperchon judged it moſt prudent to relinquiſh what he could not hold, and to content himſelf with ſecuring Macedon.

But the ſame ill conduct by which he had loſt Greece, was alſo to deprive him of Macedon[9]. Polyperchon, now avowedly the creature of Olympias, beſought her to take the young king under her guardianſhip, imagining her preſence might add ſtrength to his adminiſtration. Her arrival produced a contrary effect. All who had the moſt diſtant connexion with Antipater, beheld with terror, a revolution, which, from a woman of her fierce and vindictive ſpirit, was probably to end in their deſtruction. Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen, were more particularly affected by it. Aridaeus, the ſon of Philip by a concubine, had been the object of her averſion from his infancy; and the infirmity of his underſtanding was ſuppoſed to be the effect of a potion he had received from her. Eurydice, his wife, was the daughter of the unfortunate Cynane, whom Philip had by an Illyrian lady, and whom Perdiccas, to pleaſe Olympias, had put to death. Her father, Amyntas, ſon to Philip's elder brother, had, by Olympias's contrivance, been already deſtroyed; ſo that neither Eurydice nor her huſband could think of her but with abhorrence; and, ſhould ſhe once poſſeſs power, they had cauſe to dread her utmoſt violence. Accordingly, when Eurydice

recals Olympias;

is oppoſed, by Philip Aridaeus, and his queen Eurydice;

[9] Juſt. L. xiv. c. 5, 6.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

was apprized of her intended return, she endeavoured to provide for her security, by assembling forces, and by pressing Cassander to hasten to her assistance; commanding, at the same time, Polyperchon not to interfere farther in the administration; but to resign it to Cassander upon his arrival.

marches against them with Olympias;

This precipitate step furnished Polyperchon with an excuse for executing what he wished to perform. With Olympias at the head of his army, he immediately marched against Eurydice; who, animated by her wrongs, led out her forces also; but her soldiers, either from treachery, or, according to some historians, struck with the majesty of Olympias, in whose person they recollected the mother of Alexander and the wife of Philip, having refused to fight, the wretched Eurydice and her husband fell into the hands of this relentless woman [10], who used her power with an inhumanity inseparable from her character. The king and queen she committed to a close prison, scarcely large enough to contain them, with an opening only left for the purpose of conveying to them a wretched sustenance, less with the view of preserving life, than of prolonging misery.

at sight of Olympias, the soldiers of Eurydice refuse to fight.

Olympias causes Philip Aridaeus and Eurydice to be put to death.

But, finding that these indignities served only to excite the compassion even of their enemies, she ordered some Thracian soldiers to dispatch Aridaeus, after he had nominally reigned six years and four months [11]. This done, she sent messengers to Eurydice, with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poison,

[10] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 1.

[11] OLYMP. CXV. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

commanding

commanding her to chuſe which of them ſhe pleaſed. They found Eurydice binding up and covering, in the beſt manner ſhe could, the bleeding corſe of her royal huſband; ſhe received the meſſage without uttering any expoſtulation or womaniſh complaint; and, after praying the gods, that Olympias might be rewarded with the like preſent, with great compoſure ſtrangled herſelf [12].

together with Nicanor, Caſſander's brother,

Olympias's luſt of revenge was not yet ſated. She cauſed Nicanor, brother to Caſſander, to be alſo ſlain, and the tomb of Iolas, another brother, to be broke open, and his body expoſed upon the public highway; and, having ſeized a hundred Macedonians of quality, ſuppoſed to have been friends to Caſſander, ſhe put them all to death.

and a hundred Macedonians of quality.

Caſſander marches againſt her;

Theſe violent proceedings had turned the greater part of Macedon againſt her, when Caſſander appeared [13]. Upon the firſt advice from Eurydice, he had left Peloponneſus; and was on his way to her aſſiſtance, when the melancholy tidings of her fate reached him. A body of Aetolians, in the ſervice of Polyperchon, had poſſeſſed themſelves of the defile of Thermopyle, in order to diſpute the paſſage. To avoid delay, he went on board his fleet, which he had ordered to follow him, and was on the confines of Macedon, before either Polyperchon or Olympias were aware of his approach; and, having divided his forces, he ſent one detachment to employ Polyperchon; with the other, he marched in perſon

[12] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

[13] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 2, 3.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

againſt Olympias. She, with the young king, and Roxana his mother, ſeveral of the royal family, and Macedonian nobility, were ſhut up in Pydna, in full aſſurance, that both Polyperchon and Aeacidas king of Epire, her kinſman, were marching to her relief. But Caſſander had taken his meaſures more effectually; ſeduced by a party he had artfully formed in Epire, the Epirots refuſed to follow their king, and, upon his attempting compulſion, depoſed him. Polyperchon, ſharply preſſed by the forces ſent againſt him, with difficulty provided for his own defence. Olympias, nevertheleſs, held out with firmneſs, till, compelled by famine, ſhe was at laſt obliged to ſurrender. She ſtipulated only for her life; but, the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe murdered, demanding juſtice, Caſſander pretended, that this ſtipulation related only to military execution, and that ſhe was ſtill amenable to the laws of her country. Her condemnation followed of courſe; and ſhe was accordingly put to death. The young king Alexander, and Roxana, Caſſander confined in Amphipolis. And Theſſalonice, who was alſo made priſoner at the ſame time, the daughter of Philip by a lady of Theſſaly, he married [14].

obliges her to ſurrender;

has her put to death; confines Alexander, Roxana's ſon, and marries Theſſalonice, Philip's daughter.

The inveterate hatred with which Olympias purſued Caſſander and his houſe, ſeems to account for the reports ſpread to his diſadvantage concerning Alexander's death. They probably originated with Olympias, in order to procure the deſtruction of a family ſhe abhorred. And indeed Caſſander himſelf

Caſſander's

[14] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

gave much ſtrength to them, by the deteſtation in which he confeſſedly held his maſter's memory, and the extreme cruelty with which he treated his neareſt connexions. It appears from Plutarch [15], that, long after the death of Alexander, he retained ſuch a deadly enmity to his memory, that he could not bear the recollection of him without horror; a remarkable inſtance of which that hiſtorian has preſented to us. After he had been ſome years in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Macedon, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and taking a view of the ſtatues, the ſudden ſight of the ſtatue of Alexander ſtruck him with ſuch dread, that he trembled all over, and with difficulty recovered from the giddineſs it occaſioned. According to Plutarch, he had once burſt into a laugh in Alexander's preſence, at the ſight of ſome barbarians proſtrating themſelves before him; when, enraged at the inſult, the king caught him by the hair, and with both his hands daſhed his head againſt the wall. Upon another occaſion, as he attempted to vindicate his father, whom certain perſons had accuſed, Alexander with loud menaces bade him beware of miſleading him by his ſophiſms, denouncing vengeance againſt Antipater, if he did not fully anſwer the charge againſt him. Such was his terror from the king's violence, continues Plutarch, that, as long as he lived, he never was able to overcome the impreſſion. It muſt be owned, Caſſander remembered but too faithfully the paſſionate exceſſes of his maſter, and took ample revenge for them. His

deteſtation of Alexander's memory;

from what cauſes.

[15] Plutarch in Alexand.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

ſhedding the blood of Olympias, violent as ſhe was, is hardly to be juſtified. But his treatment of the young princes, Alexander's ſons, which we ſhall have immediate occaſion to mention, is altogether without excuſe. There is even reaſon to ſuſpect, that his pretended kindneſs to the Thebans was in fact a kind of triumph over Alexander. Alexander had exterminated the Thebans. Caſſander made it his firſt care, after he had compoſed the affairs of Macedon, to collect together their remains, and to raiſe their city from it's ruins, reſtoring it, as far as he could, to it's former ſplendor. He had a pride, perhaps, in oppoſing Alexander, and in rearing up what he had demoliſhed.

Caſſander is involved in new wars with Antigonus,

Caſſander had now ſucceeded, ſeemingly, to the utmoſt of his ambitious hopes. He was in full poſſeſſion, the title excepted, of the regal dignity; Polyperchon, unable to oppoſe him, had taken refuge in Aetolia; Greece was in ſubjection; Epire was under his dominion; and, however iniquitous the means were by which he had acquired this power, yet theſe ſeveral nations, exhauſted by continual wars, ſubmitted patiently to a domination which promiſed them *ſome* repoſe. This interval of peace was of ſhort duration. Antigonus, as already mentioned, had made conſiderable progreſs in Aſia; and the other generals of Alexander, jealous of a power which might ſoon prove fatal to their own, called upon Caſſander to unite with them in humbling this formidable rival. This produced new troubles in Greece. Alexander, ſon to Polyperchon, had retired to the court of Antigonus; who imme-

diately dispatched him to Greece, with a large supply of money, in order to make a diversion in Peloponnesus. And Cassander having bought him off, by resigning [16] all his rights in Peloponnesus, Antigonus had recourse to other methods, encouraging, under pretence of a zeal for liberty, the popular faction throughout the Grecian cities to rise against Cassander's government. All Greece was again in commotion; and the Aetolians having also taken up arms, and Aeacidas at the same time making an attempt to recover his kingdom, Cassander found himself involved in very extensive military operations; which he nevertheless maintained with great spirit, not only resisting his different adversaries, but even making an impression on the Asiatic coasts, and distressing Antigonus at home. It were of little moment to enter into a detail of these desultory wars, which, as often as the parties found themselves weakened by their mutual losses, were interrupted by some kind of convention, to be violated as soon as a favorable opportunity offered for renewing hostilities.

and his confederates;

What Cassander experienced in the course of these convulsions, probably impelled him to a crime, which, steeped in blood as he was, he had not before dared to execute. Young Alexander, Roxana's son, he held, as we have related, in confinement at Amphipolis; and though he had stripped him of all the trappings of sovereignty, and ordered him to be treated as a private person, he had not attempted

endeavours to secure himself,

[16] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

his life. Among many acts of violence, with which Antigonus had charged Caſſander, he reproached him for diſloyal treatment to his ſovereign; and, as if *he* had a mighty regard for the royal line, threatened to reſcue the prince out of the hands of his oppreſſors, and to vindicate his rights. The Macedonians, many of whom were not well-affected to Caſſander, complained likewiſe of the ſhameful impriſonment of their king, and required that he ſhould be no longer with-held from their ſight. Caſſander perceived at once where theſe murmurs might terminate, and, as a deciſive ſtep for his ſecurity, ſent orders to Amphipolis to deſtroy both the Prince and his mother [17]. Young Alexander was aged about twelve years at the time of his death. Upon the diſcovery of his aſſaſſination, the Macedonians would have riſen againſt the aſſaſſin, but they wanted a leader. And Antigonus and the other great generals were little diſpoſed to revenge a crime, which was advantageous to themſelves, and which, circumſtanced as Caſſander was, they would have had as little ſcruple to commit [18].

by putting Alexander the ſon of Roxana to death.

There yet remained one male branch more of the royal family; Hercules, the ſon of Alexander by Barſine, widow of Memnon, and daughter of Artabazus, now aged ſeventeen, who had hitherto reſided in Aſia. Polyperchon, who was ſtill in Aetolia, and who imagined the preſent opportunity was favorable for reviving his pretenſions in Mace-

Polyperchon ſets up Hercules, the laſt male branch of the royal family, king in his ſtead.

[17] OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.

[18] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 1, 2.

don, while the minds of men were irritated againſt Caſſander, conceived the ſcheme of making this young prince the inſtrument of his ambition. Having aſſembled therefore a conſiderable body of troops, he invited Hercules to paſs over into Greece; had him acknowledged, wherever he could, as heir of the imperial houſe of Macedon; and declared his reſolution of eſtabliſhing him on the throne of his anceſtors. Caſſander was alarmed. He had one reſource, however, in Polyperchon himſelf. He knew him to be baſe, perfidious, and mercenary; and hoped to make ſuch overtures as would be able to detach him from the intereſts of this new competitor. He was not diſappointed. The offer of aſſociating him in the adminiſtration, and of yielding to him the entire ſovereignty of Peloponneſus, put an end to his aſſumed loyalty; nay, to quiet all further fears of Caſſander, the infamous Polyperchon undertook and accompliſhed the murder of the young king, of whom he had juſt avowed himſelf the protector. This aſſaſſination of *Hercules* [19] took place about two years after that of Roxana's ſon.

and murders him at the inſtigation of Caſſander.

Caſſander, as we have before obſerved, had ceded Peloponneſus to the ſon of Polyperchon; but the poſſeſſion of it was attended with many difficulties; and he was at laſt killed in an inſurrection at Sicyon. Polyperchon's ill-acquired ſovereignty had nearly the ſame iſſue; he met with vigorous oppoſition from the ſeveral nations of which it was compoſed; and, being obliged to retire, was deſervedly deſtined to end his days in the utmoſt wretchedneſs.

The fate of Polyperchon.

[19] Olymp. cxvii. 4. Before Christ 308.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

Caſſander poſſeſſed, in his exalted ſtation, but little enjoyment or peace of mind. In Macedon he was not popular. In Greece he was deteſted. While allied abroad to doubtful friends, Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, with whom he had no other connexion but the precarious one of preſent intereſt; he was ſurrounded by formidable and inſidious enemies, the Aetolians and Epirots on the one ſide, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, who watched the opportunity of wreſting from him a prize, which had coſt him many crimes. Even the death of Alexander's children, from which he had hoped to derive ſecurity, had added to the importance of his rivals in empire; and, without ſharing in his guilt, they had acquired from it rank and independence.

Caſſander is encompaſſed with difficulties;

He ſoon felt the fatal effects of his miſguided policy. The diſaffection of the moſt conſiderable of the Greek republics preſented Antigonus with the opportunity he had long ſought, the means of carrying the war into Caſſander's dominions; and Demetrius Poliorcetes was detached to attempt Athens, which if reduced would open a way to the reduction of the reſt of Greece. The execution of this ſcheme was attended with little difficulty. When Poliorcetes appeared before Athens, the proſpect of a revolution occaſioned a general joy; and, far from receiving him as an enemy, they hailed him as their protector, compelling Demetrius Phalereus, whom Caſſander had appointed over them, to abdicate the government. This appears more ſtriking, as Demetrius Phalereus had been remarkable for the lenity of his adminiſtration. He was, beſides, highly accom-

is attacked by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who attempts and takes Athens;

and ejects Demetrius Phalereus,

pliſhed, of the moſt captivating deportment, and, which at Athens was no ſmall merit, a celebrated ſpeaker; though, according to Cicero, the firſt of the Greeks, who, inſtead of the nervous ſeverity, and bold reſiſtleſs ſpirit, to be found in the earlier orators, particularly in Demoſthenes, ſubſtituted a milder and more pathetic ſpecies of eloquence, but as much inferior to that of former days in it's manner and powers, if we are to believe the Roman [20] critic, "as the gently-gliding ſtream is to the thundering "torrent."

He had governed Athens ten years, and apparently ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the people, that they had erected to him three hundred and ſixty ſtatues. But, ſuch is the value of popular favor! theſe ſtatues were now thrown down, his acts arraigned, his adminiſtration declared iniquitous and oppreſſive, and himſelf and all perſons connected with him pronounced worthy of death. Phalereus, indeed, eſcaped by flight, in which he was aſſiſted by Poliorcetes himſelf; and, after various fortunes, took refuge in Egypt; where we ſhall have occaſion to mention him in the hiſtory of the affairs of that kingdom. That which rendered him eminently obnoxious was not ſo much, in all probability, what *he* had actually done, as his ſerving under a prince exceedingly odious, and his being the miniſter of a

[20] Hic primus, ſays Cicero (Brut. 9.) inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit, & ſuavis, ſicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis; ſed ſuavitate eâ, quâ *perfunderet* animos, non *perfringeret*.

BOOK III Sect. 1.

government founded in force, that had risen on the ruins of democracy, to which the Athenians, of all the nations in Greece, were most passionately attached.

Poliorcetes with the affections of the Athenians,

Poliorcetes, instructed by the fate of his predecessor, employed every art to gain the affections of the Athenians. He obliged the Macedonian garrison to evacuate the Munychia, which they had held ever since the days of Antipater, and demolished the fortress: he avoided entering Athens with a military force, for fear of giving umbrage: he restored the popular government in it's full extent: he promised, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand measures of wheat, and timber sufficient for building a hundred galleys —— assuming the character only of *asserter of the public liberty*, without pretending to interfere in the administration, though by his agents he was directing all public operations.

who repay him with extravagant adulations.

The extravagant adulation [21] with which the Athenians expressed their gratitude, shows what a change had taken place in the character of that once-illustrious people. In their days of glory, an olive-wreath was the only reward a Miltiades laid claim to; and even in this he met with opposition. Now the most distinguished honors, such as Athens was wont to pay only to her gods, were prostituted to sooth the vanity of a young adventurer, whom they scarcely knew; who had served them, merely because it served his own interests; and who, they

[21] See Plut. in Demet. & Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 3.

could not but be ſenſible, owed the power, of which he was poſſeſſed, to perfidy and uſurpation. They conſecrated the ſpot where Demetrius firſt alighted from his chariot when he entered Athens, and erected an altar upon it to *Demetrius the alighter*[22]. A law paſſed, that, when he condeſcended to come to Athens, he ſhould be received with the ſame honors that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever ſhould ſurpaſs the reſt of the Athenians in the magnificence with which they received Demetrius, ſhould have money from the public treaſury to enable him to conſecrate ſome pious memorial of his ſucceſs—that Antigonus and Demetrius ſhould be honored with the appellation of GODS PROTECTORS; and that, inſtead of denominating the year, as formerly, from the archon, they ſhould create annually a prieſt of theſe *gods protectors*, whoſe name ſhould be prefixed to all their public acts—that the portraits of theſe *gods protectors* ſhould be wrought in the holy veil, with thoſe of the other gods—that thoſe who ſhould be ſent upon public buſineſs from the commonwealth of Athens, to Antigonus and Demetrius, ſhould not be ſtyled ambaſſadors, but THEOROI, *viſiters of the gods;* a title appropriated to the meſſengers, who on ſolemn feſtivals carried the accuſtomed offerings to Delos and Delphi. They even com-

[22] Βωμὸν Δημητρίου καταβάτου. Plut. in Demet.—According to Diodorus (xx. 3.) the Athenians ſet up golden ſtatues of Antigonus and Demetrius next to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, adorned with golden crowns, each of two hundred talents weight, and erected an altar in honor of them, by the name of *the Altar of the* SAVIOURS.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

plimented their deliverers with an important alteration in the conſtitution, adding two to the number of their tribes, and calling them Demetrius and Antigonus; ſo that the ſenate, which before conſiſted of five hundred members, now conſiſted of ſix hundred, each tribe ſupplying fifty. What almoſt exceeds belief, they not only declared Demetrius to be a god; they alſo voted, that his words, being the words of a god, ſhould be received as divine oracles. Accordingly, at the dedication of certain offerings at Delphi, concerning the form of which ſome doubts had occurred, a decree paſſed, that application ſhould be made to this oracle, and that whatever it pronounced ſhould be obſerved. Plutarch has preſerved to us this curious monument. "In a "fortunate hour be it decreed by the people, that "a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to THE "GOD PROTECTOR; and, after due ſacrifices "offered, demand of *Demetrius, the God Protector*, "what will be the moſt pious, the moſt honorable, "and expeditious method of conſecrating the in-"tended offerings; and it is hereby enacted, that "the people of Athens ſhall obſerve what *the oracle* "ſhall have dictated." Strange, that Athens ſhould ever have fallen thus low! and not leſs ſtrange, that there ever ſhould have been found a human mind ſo intoxicated by vanity and ſucceſs, as to have pleaſure in theſe fulſome adulations!

The next exploit of Demetrius Poliorcetes was the reduction of Megara; from which, as at Athens, he ejected the Macedonian garriſon: and probably all Greece had ſoon acknowledged him ſovereign,

Sect. I.

moſt of the cities being diſpoſed to open their gates to him, had not the orders of Antigonus obliged him to paſs over to Cyprus, where Ptolemy's power was now become ſo formidable, as to threaten all the adjacent parts of Aſia. His expedition thither, together with the Egyptian war, and the ſiege of Rhodes, on which we have already inſiſted, diverted for a time his attention from Grecian affairs. This interval was not neglected by Caſſander; he employed himſelf in re-eſtabliſhing his intereſts in the ſeveral cities of Greece, and in quelling that ſpirit of revolt, which appeared to animate moſt of them; and had ſat down with his army before Athens, when Demetrius, urged by the earneſt ſolicitations of his friends, haſtened from Rhodes to their aſſiſtance. His ſucceſs we have already mentioned.

Poliorcetes paſſes over to Cyprus.

Caſſander returns to Greece;

and beſieges Athens:

Poliorcetes haſtens back to its relief;

Whatever ſtrains of panegyric the Athenians had before indulged, they now ſurpaſſed [23] them all. Orders were given, that Demetrius ſhould be lodged in the Parthenon, or virgin-temple of Minerva, on account, doubtleſs, of the ſumptuouſneſs of the edifice; though there could not be a groſſer inſult to the ſuppoſed purity of their goddeſs, than to give her for a gueſt a man of his coarſe and diſſolute manners. They were not aſhamed however to ſee this ſacred place made the receptacle of courtezans, and the ſcene of the lewdeſt debaucheries. They were even mean enough to become panders to his luſt. They proſtituted the honor of their families to his

the exceſſive flatteries of the Athenians to him on this occaſion:

[23] See Plutarch in Demet.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

impure deſires; and, as if they had been apprehenſive poſterity might imagine that theſe were the private crimes of ſome ſervile individuals, to which government gave no ſanction, an edict paſſed, importing, "it was reſolved by the people of Athens, "that whatever Demetrius was pleaſed to command, "ſhould be accounted holy in reſpect of the gods, "and juſt in reſpect of men:" An edict of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it were unneceſſary to quote further inſtances of the debaſement of this degenerate people.

their influence on Demetrius:

The baneful influence of flattery ſoon ſhowed itſelf in the change wrought on Demetrius. Licentious as he was, he had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed by his affability and gentle demeanour. He now became imperious and arrogant; affected a ſuperior carriage, and a loftier tone of language; and ſeemed to expect that other princes ſhould bend before him, regarding them as perſons in ſubjection to him, who exiſted by his favor, and were to yield up their governments at his nod. Ptolemy he affected to call his admiral; Lyſimachus his treaſurer; Seleucus the maſter of his elephants. A conduct exactly ſimilar had been remarked alſo in Antigonus; and the ſucceſſes of his ſon had not helped to humble him. This haughty turn of mind appeared remarkable in their treatment of Caſſander. He had ſued for peace, and would willingly have ſubmitted to the moſt humiliating conditions; but nothing leſs than the abſolute reſignation [24] of all his dominions would

[24] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

ſatisfy Antigonus and Demetrius. Such an intemperate uſe of fortune was attended with its uſual conſequences. Moved by Caſſander's ſituation, and alarmed at an inſolence, which ſhowed what they had to expect, the reſt of Alexander's ſucceſſors formed an alliance againſt Demetrius and his father, which terminated in the fatal battle of Ipſus.

Caſſander dies;

The ſequel of Demetrius's fortunes we have already related[25]. Caſſander died ſome years afterwards, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Macedon and Greece, a few cities excepted, of which Demetrius and after him his ſon Antigonus, retained the ſovereignty. A judgment ſeemed nevertheleſs to purſue this unhappy houſe[26]. He left three ſons. Philip, the eldeſt, having died ſoon after his father. Alexander and Antipater, the ſecond and third, both claimed the kingdom; Alexander was ſupported by the intereſt of his mother Theſſalonice, whoſe favorite he was; and Antipater, by Lyſimachus, whoſe daughter he had married. Antipater, reſenting the preference of his mother for Alexander, had the impiety to imbrue his hands in her blood; and, flying afterwards to Lyſimachus, was, upon ſome difference betwixt them, impriſoned, and put to death. And, Alexander having called in Demetrius to his aſſiſtance, the latter, as before related, pretending a deſign againſt his life; had him taken off by violence.

the fate of his unhappy houſe.

In Theſſalonice and her ſons ended the royal

[25] See B. ii. Sect. 2.

[26] Juſt. L. xvi. c. 1, 2.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

lineage of Macedon. Twenty-eight years only had elapſed ſince Alexander's death, and not a ſingle branch of his houſe remained to enjoy a portion of that empire, which Philip and his ſon had acquired at the price of great exertions, and much toil and bloodſhed.

and in what manner.

And it is worthy of obſervation, as theſe princes, in the purſuit of their ambitious ſchemes, exceeded in violence and cruelty, ſo by violence and cruelty was their family cut off, not one branch of it (thoſe who died in their infancy and Alexander excepted) expiring preaceably, or even bravely in the field, but all by treachery and aſſaſſination. Philip periſhed by domeſtic treaſon. His daughter Cynane was ſlain by Perdiccas. Amyntas her huſband, heir of the Macedonian crown, had been put to death earlier, ſome ſay by Olympias, ſome, by Alexander. Theſſalonice, one of Philip's daughters, was, as we have juſt related, aſſaſſinated by her own ſon. Cleopatra, ſiſter to Alexander, by Antigonus. Aridaeus, ſon to Philip, by Olympias. And Eurydice his wife, daughter to the unhappy Cynane, by Olympias alſo. Caranus and Europa, Philip's ſon and daughter by Cleopatra, his laſt wife, were likewiſe murdered by Olympias, the latter in her mother's arms.

Olympias herſelf was ſlain by Caſſander. Statira, daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, to whom ſurely on both accounts reſpect was due, was deſtroyed by Roxana, together with Alexander's unborn child. Roxana, in her turn, was treated in the ſame manner by Caſſander; who murdered her and her

her ſon. And Hercules, ſon alſo to Alexander, and the laſt male branch of the royal houſe, fell by the perfidy of Polyperchon.

Such, to the family of Alexander, were the fruits of that ambition which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Aſia, and Africa, and had ſpread ſuch dreadful and extenſive devaſtation.

It may indeed be ſaid, that theſe ſanguinary actions were not the reſult of war, but were merely domeſtic crimes; and therefore not to be imputed to the military ſpirit which Philip and his ſon called forth; it is however evident, that they in a great meaſure proceeded from that ferocity of character, and relentleſs ſpirit, which conſtant wars and continued ſcenes of blood had introduced; they were the offſpring of thoſe deadly animoſities, generally excited in civil diſtractions; and of the decay of loyalty towards their princes, for which the Macedonians at one time were celebrated, but which the miſeries they had ſuffered had totally extinguiſhed.

The military achievements of Philip's reign were doubtleſs of ſome benefit to Macedon; they improved the courage and diſcipline of her ſoldiers; they gave her ſecurity and independence; they enabled her to aſſume a rank and ſtation among her neighbours, to which, before this period, ſhe had never attained. And, had Alexander *completed the plan*, and no more, which his father ſeems to have traced out; had he contented himſelf with driving the Perſians out of the Lower Aſia, and freeing the Macedonians on that ſide from all future dread of invaſion; had

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

he taken care to confirm and render permanent that ſovereignty over the Greek commonwealths, which their fears or their affections had yielded to him; he probably had rendered Macedon flouriſhing and powerful. But his ambition was her ruin. He drained his country of her ſtrength, in making conqueſts not only uſeleſs but pernicious to her; and he left her a prey to the ravages of war, and the rage of civil conteſt, for nearly forty years after his death.

BOOK III.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Lyſimachus gets poſſeſſion of the throne of Macedon — his character — is ſlain by Seleucus — Seleucus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus — Ptolemy Ceraunus, by the Gauls. — The Gauls lay waſte Macedon — attempt Delphi — are repulſed — and retire. — Antigonus, ſon to Demetrius Poliorcetes, lays claim to the kingdom of Macedon — and obtains it — is attacked by another body of Gauls — defeats them. — Pyrrhus of Epire invades Macedon — defeats and diſpoſſeſſes Antigonus — attacks Sparta — is repulſed — marches to Argos — is ſlain — his character.

Pyrrhus and Lyſimachus invade Macedon.

THE expulſion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon was of little ſervice to that unhappy kingdom. Pyrrhus of Epire, and Lyſimachus of Thrace[1], who had acted in concert in the late revolution, now ſet up oppoſite claims to the ſucceſſion, each of them demanding it as a recompence due for his ſervices; and they prepared to ſupport their pretenſions by force of arms. An accommodation was at length brought about, of which, however, the diſmembering of Macedon was the fundamental article; the

[1] See Juſt. L. xvi. c. 3. Pauſan. in Atticis. Plutarch in Pyrrho.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

Upper [2] Macedon being allotted to Lyſimachus, and the Lower to Pyrrhus. But even this accommodation was only the temporary expedient of ambition. Upon the final ruin of Demetrius's fortunes in Syria, Lyſimachus began to execute what he had doubtleſs meditated from the beginning; and either by open violence, or by ſecret practices, ſoon ſtripped Pyrrhus of all his Macedonian poſſeſſions.

Lyſimachus ejects Pyrrhus:

Under a wiſe adminiſtration, this reunion of the kingdom might have added to its ſecurity and ſtrength. Under Lyſimachus, it only aggravated its miſeries. Violent and ſanguinary in his diſpoſition, and no longer controlled by the apprehenſions of an enemy near him, he now diſplayed the whole ferocity of his character. His own family were the firſt victims [3]. In the decline of life, he had married Arſinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy of Egypt, by Berenice his favorite queen. And ſome years before, Lyſandra, another of Ptolemy's daughters, by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, had been married to Agathocles, Lyſimachus's ſon. Berenice

his character:

marries Arſinoe:

[2] *The Upper* Macedon, that is, the eaſtern part, towards the Aegean ſea; as by *the Lower* we are to underſtand the weſtern, towards the Ionian or Adriatic. In former times, when Macedon was confined within narrower limits, by *the Upper* Macedon were generally meant, as appears from Thucydides (L. viii.) the mountainous parts of it, and by *the Lower*, the vallies and plain country; but the Macedonians having by degrees extended themſelves from ſea to ſea, the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts had the appellation of *Upper* and *Lower* Macedon given to them. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. L. i. c. 14.

[3] Juſt. L. xvii. c. 1.

and Eurydice; jealous of each other, had long distracted the Egyptian court by their mutual animosities; and Berenice had taken care to inspire Arsinoe with the same hatred of Eurydice and her children, with which she herself was animated.

Arsinoe left Egypt, therefore, with the strongest prejudices against Lysandra and her husband; which, on her arrival in Macedon, were not lessened by the high reputation of the young prince. He was looked up to by all with a sort of adoration: his military abilities and his amiable manners had endeared him equally to the army and to the people: and to his valor and conduct, his father stood confessedly indebted for some of the finest provinces of his kingdom. Filled as Arsinoe was with hereditary enmity, such accomplishments, strengthened by the consideration of his being heir apparent to the throne, were of a nature too distinguished, not to increase the aversion and the jealousy of that resentful and ambitious princess. They afforded, at the same time, many dangerous and specious arguments to an artful woman, whose lovely form and captivating powers carried her insinuations with irresistible force into the suspicious mind of a doting and inhuman tyrant. She soon brought over Lysimachus to her fatal purpose [r]. Agathocles was suspected, imprisoned, and put to death [s].

conceives suspicions of his son Agathocles:

puts him to death.

[r] Some have said (see Paus. Xyland. in Atticis, p. 9.) that she had conceived a passion for the young prince; and that, finding her incestuous solicitations rejected, she pursued him with implacable hatred.

[s] There happened also at this time an incident, which

BOOK III

Sect. 2.

Indignation and fears of the friends of Agathocles;

The murder of Agathocles threw Macedon into great confuſion. His melancholy fate occaſioned a general indignation, and called to remembrance his many virtues; whilſt Lyſimachus, whoſe temper became every day more diſtruſtful, and who looked upon the honors paid to his ſon's memory as ſo many inſults offered to himſelf, wreaked his vengeance on all who ſeemed even to lament him; ſo that the moſt virtuous of the Macedonians ſaw themſelves expoſed to the vindictive paſſions of this gloomy and cruel tyrant.

they flee to Seleucus,

Lyſandra alſo knew well, that the ſame hand which had deſtroyed her huſband, was raiſed likewiſe againſt her life; and that her enemies only waited the opportunity of involving her and her dependents in one general ruin. Exaſperated, therefore, by her wrongs, and doubtful of her ſafety, this unhappy princeſs, accompanied by her brother Ptolemy, and ſuch of the nobility as had been moſt attached to Agathocles, fled to Aſia, and implored the protection of Seleucus.

who prepares to make war againſt Lyſimachus.

This prince, pleaſed, perhaps, with the opportunity, readily granted the noble fugitives all they aſked; and, having fallen directly upon the province of Lydia, made himſelf maſter of

appears to have precipitated the fate of the young prince. Ptolemy, the eldeſt ſon of Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Lyſandra's brother, had, upon the preference in the ſucceſſion being given to Philadelphus, brother to Arſinoe, left Egypt, and retired to the court of Agathocles; which, it is likely, made Arſinoe apprehenſive that he would endeavour to engage Agathocles in his intereſt, and through him recover the crown, of which he had been deſpoiled. But more of theſe tranſactions hereafter, in the hiſtory of Egyptian affairs.

Sardis, and was preparing to croſs the Helleſpont, when Lyſimachus prevented him. He had foreſeen the ſtorm that was gathering againſt him; and, too brave to decline the conteſt, or unwilling to hazard the iſſue in Macedon, (where, beſides the power of a formidable enemy, he ſhould have to encounter the diſaffection of an injured people) had paſſed into Aſia, and was advancing towards Seleucus.

and meets him in battle.

The armies, headed by the two only ſurviving generals of Alexander, met on a plain on the Phrygian borders, called *the field of Cyrus* [f]. Seleucus was aged ſeventy-ſeven years, and Lyſimachus eighty. Both of them were hardy and experienced warriors, who, during a long period of years, had been bound to each other by all the ties of friendſhip, if ſuch a thing as friendſhip can, indeed, be known to the ambitious. Notwithſtanding their advanced age, they both acquitted themſelves with all the vigor and activity of youth; but Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lyſimachus fell.

Lyſimachus ſlain.

Seleucus now conſidered the kingdom of Macedon as a prize belonging to the victor; and, having reſigned his Aſiatic dominions to his ſon Antiochus, ſeemed to pleaſe himſelf with the expectation of ſpending the remainder of his days, after a variety of revolutions, in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. He little thought, that he was to receive his death from one of thoſe perſons, in whoſe

Seleucus ſlain treacherously.

[f] Κύρου πεδίον — Strab. Caſaub. L. iii. p. 432. It appears from Arrian, (ii. 4.) that it was the place of encampment of Cyrus the younger, near the gates of Cilicia from Cappadocia: he calls it Κύρου στρατόπεδον.

BOOK III. Sect. 2. by Ptolemy Ceraunus.

behalf he had employed his arms. Lyſander's brother, Ptolemy, one of the moſt flagitious characters to be met with in hiſtory, had caſt an eye on the throne of Macedon, and had determined, whatever crime it ſhould coſt him, to poſſeſs himſelf of it. Seleucus, too generous and unſuſpicious, lived with him in the moſt familiar manner, and ſoon afforded him the opportunity he wiſhed for. As he was on the point of entering Macedon, Ptolemy, watching the convenient moment, treacherouſly came behind, and ſtabbed his benefactor [1], about ſeven months after Lyſimachus's death.

Ptolemy Ceraunus gets poſſeſſion of Macedon;

The ſucceſs that attended this perfidious action, ſhows us the abject condition, not only of Macedon, but alſo of the adjacent ſtates of Greece and Aſia, at this juncture. Ptolemy, deteſted as he muſt have been, bathed in the blood of his benefactor, the murderer of a prince univerſally reſpected and beloved, found it, nevertheleſs, an eaſy matter to ſeat himſelf on a throne, to which he had no pretenſions but what were founded on the atrocious action he had juſt committed. It is plain, it was to their exhauſted ſituation he owed his ſecurity. Worn out by continual wars, they dreaded a contention, which was to renew their miſeries. Antigonus, ſon to Poliorcetes, attempted, indeed, an oppoſition; but of little moment: and Antiochus himſelf; Seleucus's ſon, was forced to put off to a future day the revenging of his father's blood, the ſituation of his Aſiatic affairs requiring his immediate preſence.

[1] OLYMP. CXXIV. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 282.

The title, by which the Egyptian prince held the crown, was odious; and the public hatred was increaſed by ſucceeding enormities[1]. Arſinoe, his half-ſiſter, Lyſimachus's widow, retained ſtill a portion of Upper Macedon, in the chief city of which, Caſſandria, ſhe had her reſidence, together with the ſons whom ſhe had born to Lyſimachus. This was a mortifying circumſtance to Ptolemy. He held but a mutilated kingdom, whilſt this part was wanting. The young princes, beſides, were ſons to a king of Macedon, and might in time ſet up claims, which he ſhould find it difficult to defeat. Should he attempt Caſſandria by force of arms, and fail, it muſt lay open his deſigns, and might prove his ruin. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed by art and ſubtilty; and, pretending to be captivated by the charms of Arſinoe, offered to ſhare the throne of Macedon with her; and, as a farther inducement, to ſettle the ſucceſſion upon her ſons.

courts the widow of Lyſimachus;

Maternal tenderneſs, and perhaps yet more her vanity and ambition, were too much flattered by theſe offers for her to reject them. She wanted, however, further aſſurances of his ſincerity. This was an eaſy taſk. The moſt ſacred oaths were employed on the occaſion: Ptolemy, before the altar, imprecating on himſelf the ſevereſt vengeance of the gods, if he was not moved to this ſuit by the firmeſt and moſt ardent affection, and promiſing, whilſt life remained, never to depart from his preſent regard and profeſſions. The ſolemnity of the mar-

prevails on her to marry him:

[1] Juſt. L. xxiv. c. 2, 3.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

riage, which was celebrated with the utmoſt ſplendor, was followed by the pomp of Arſinoe's inauguration; on which occaſions Ptolemy ſo ſucceſsfully maintained the character of a tender lover, that his wife, baniſhing every ſuſpicion, gave herſelf up to the fond belief of her huſband's truth and conſtancy, and commanded the gates of the city of Caſſandria, where her children reſided, and her treaſures were lodged, to be opened for his reception.

This was the grand object, for the ſake of which he had been practiſing every hypocritical art. No ſooner had he entered the gates, than he ordered his troops to poſſeſs themſelves of the citadel; and the young princes, one aged ſixteen, the other thirteen, who had appeared to attend his entry, and do him honor, to be immediately put to death. Upon the firſt notice of what was deſigned againſt them, they had fled to Arſinoe for protection; but the wretched mother could afford them none; the aſſaſſins not only ruſhing into her preſence, but, regardleſs of her ſhrieks, murdered both the princes even in her arms, whilſt ſhe in vain endeavoured to cover them from the ſtrokes of the inhuman executioners. As if all this barbarity had not been ſufficient, after ſtripping her of her royal attire, and clothing her in a mean garb, this unhappy princeſs was dragged out of the city, and ſent into exile to Samothrace.

murders both her ſons,

and baniſhes her;

Such enormous guilt ſeemed to provoke ſome exemplary puniſhment; and it ſoon overtook him. A vaſt body of Gauls [9], amounting to three hundred

is attacked by the Gauls;

[9] Pauſan. in Phocicis. Juſt. L. xxiv. c. 5, & ſeq.

thouſand, had left their native home in queſt of new ſettlements; and after following the courſe of the Danube for a conſiderable way, had divided into three bodies, one of which had broken into Macedon. Ptolemy had not force ſufficient to cope with this formidable multitude; yet, as if urged on by divine vengeance for his crimes, he refuſed the only expedients that might have ſaved him. They demanded a certain quantity of gold, promiſing on that condition to march through his dominions without committing any depredation. Their demand was haughtily rejected. The Dardanians would have marched to his aſſiſtance. He diſdained the offer; and, in full confidence of his own ſtrength, and in contempt of that of the enemy, took the field with ſuch tumultuary troops as he could get together, and defied the enemy to battle. The event was anſwerable to the folly of his conduct. With moſt of his men he periſhed[40]; and, the barbarians cutting off his head, carried it through their ranks expoſed on the top of a lance. Ptolemy reigned about two years, and is diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the appellation of *Ceraunus*, or *thunderbolt;* a name aptly expreſſive of his impetuous and ruthleſs violence.

rashly defies them to battle;

and falls.

Never were people in a more deplorable condition than the Macedonians at this period; without a king, without an army; expoſed to the depredations of incenſed barbarians, and ſubject to every inſult which their cruelty or their luſt might dictate. Softhenes undertook at length to repreſs them. This

The Gauls lay waſte Macedon;

[40] Olymp. cxxiv. 4. Before Christ 280.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

noble Macedonian, called forth by the diſtreſſes of his country, aſſembled whatever adventurous ſpirits were yet to be found in Macedon, and, having formed them into a choſen band, occaſionally ſurpriſed and haraſſed the ravagers. Repeated ſucceſſes increaſed his reputation and his numbers, until by degrees he found himſelf enabled to attempt regular engagements; in one of which Belgius fell. But Macedon had not yet ſeen the end of her calamities. Brennus, another of the barbarian chieftains, who had remained behind in Pannonia, excited by the fame of Belgius's exploits, and of the rich plunder he had acquired, alſo haſtened to ſhare the ſpoil; and entered Macedon, ſay hiſtorians, at the head of a hundred and forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. To ſuch a force the reſiſtance of exhauſted Macedon was unequal. Soſthenes's army, together with their gallant chief, were ſoon overpowered and cut to pieces; and, a few places of ſtrength excepted, all was abandoned to the mercy of the conqueror. Laden with plunder, they left at length a country, where they could find nothing more to gratify their avarice; and ſhaped their courſe towards Greece.

March towards Greece;

Greece, enfeebled by a ſucceſſion of evils, which her domeſtic follies, and the ambition of the princes of Macedon, had brought upon her, had ſeemingly nothing to oppoſe to this torrent of barbarians. Brennus, well informed of her ſituation, and flushed with victory, promiſed himſelf an eaſy poſſeſſion of all the treaſures, with which her cities were ſaid to abound. He knew not what reſources may be found

are ſtopped at Thermopylae;

in ſtrict diſcipline and wiſe counſels. Animated by the dangers that threatened them, the Grecian ſtates muſtered immediately what ſtrength they could, and ſecured the defiles of Thermopylae, through which lay the route of the barbarians from Macedon; the Athenians under the command of Callippus, of whom hiſtory makes the moſt honorable mention [11], taking the lead in this important ſervice: whilſt their fleets ſailed to the coaſts of Theſſaly, in order to ſupport the operations of the army by land. Brennus had advanced, as if all oppoſition was to fly before him. But, to his amazement, neither the multitudes he commanded, the gigantic ſtature of his Gauls, nor the ferocity of their onſet, were here ſucceſsful. The military ſkill, and the ſuperior excellence of their weapons, gave the Greeks a decided advantage; after repeated efforts, and the loſs of many of the braveſt of his troops, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of deſiſting.

He then detached forty thouſand men to ravage Aetolia, which joined Theſſaly on the ſouth; in hopes that the Aetolians, who formed a conſiderable part of the Grecian army, would go to the defence of their own country. But enough ſtill remained to guard the paſs; and his detachment, after taking only the city of Callion, and increaſing the deteſtation in which the barbarians were held, by the exceſſive cruelties they committed, were half of them cut off. invade Aetolia;

At length the inhabitants of that part of Theſſaly

[11] See Pauſan. in Atticis.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

where the Gauls were encamped, wiſhing to get rid of theſe burdenſome gueſts at any price, directed Brennus to the path over mount Oeta, by which the Medes had entered Greece in the days of Leonidas. Leaving therefore Aciachorius to command in his abſence, he began his march at the head of a conſiderable army, ſixty-five thouſand choſen men, ſays Juſtin [12], in order to ſurpriſe the temple of Delphi, famed for the precious offerings it contained. The ſame fortune he had before experienced purſued him thither alſo. As the Gauls approached the mount, on which the oracular temple ſtood, ſtrange voices and ſolemn ſounds ſtruck their ears on every ſide; the mountain began to ſhake, and huge rocks, looſening from their foundations, precipitated down upon the affrighted Gauls, and cruſhed them in numbers. The inhabitants, in the mean time, though hardly four thouſand ſtrong, inſpired with a courage more than human, ruſhed forth againſt the barbarians [13]; who, panic-ſtruck, betook themſelves to flight; many of them, in their conſternation, turning their ſwords one againſt another, periſhed by mutual wounds. The ſlaughter, which was prodigious, continued till the cloſe of day [14].

attack Delphi:

are repulſed,

[12] Juſt. L. xxiv. c. 7.

[13] Some hiſtorians ſay that they were led on by perſonages of divine appearance; whom they ſuppoſe to be Apollo, Minerva, and Diana.

[14] According to Pauſanias (in Phocicis, p. 340.) the diſcomfiture of the Gauls at Delphi happened the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad, that is, 278 years before Chri. This agrees exactly with what the accurate Polybius tells us

The night, that followed, gave them no reſpite. Beſides hideous voices, the craſh of rocks, together with the cry of the enemy purſuing, which they ſtill heard or ſeemed to hear, a tempeſt uncommonly dreadful overtook the remains of this wretched army, attended with ſuch piercing cold, that moſt of the wounded expired of the anguiſh it occaſioned. Brennus had been likewiſe wounded; but his bodily ſufferings were light in compariſon of what his mind endured; he felt the whole ſeverity of divine vengeance, and in his diſtraction laid violent hands on himſelf. The few, who ſurvived, having with much difficulty joined Aciachorius, endeavoured to retreat from this inauſpicious country. But, whereſoever they went, they found enemies; the ſeveral nations, as they paſſed, riſing againſt them; and of all thoſe vaſt multitudes, which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one, we are told, eſcaped [15].

and retire in conſternation.

Brennus kills himſelf.

(L. ii. c. 41.) that Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, died all in the courſe of the 124th Olympiad. Ptolemy Ceraunus we ſuppoſe here to have fallen in battle againſt the Gauls, the 4th year of that Olympiad. He is ſaid to have reigned two years. He therefore ſlew Seleucus the 2d year of that ſame Olympiad. And ſeven months before that had Lyſimachus been ſlain. Softhenes, the ſucceſſor of Ceraunus, held the adminiſtration about two years, that is, until the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad, when he was killed by Brennus, who in conſequence of his victory invaded Greece.

[15] Paulmier de Grantmeſnil, in his Graec. Antiq. L. vi. c. 8. maintains, that the Gauls really ſacked Delphi, and that what Pagan writers ſay to the contrary is only to be conſidered

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

Such are the extraordinary circumſtances, with which ancient writers have recorded this irruption and adorned their narrative.

as an invention of the Greeks, dictated by their vanity and ſuperſtition. And he founds his aſſertion chiefly on the teſtimony of Strabo, who, as quoted by that learned critic, ſays that a conſiderable part of the Delphic treaſure was carried off by the Gauls to Toulouſe, and found there by Caepio, the Roman general, when he plundered that city. But, upon examining Strabo, it appears, that this is only a partial quotation; and that, taken all together, his evidence bears quite another way. His words are theſe: "There is indeed a tradition, "that the Tectoſages" (a tribe of Gauls near the Pyrenees) "were among the Gauls who invaded Delphi, and that the "treaſure found at Toulouſe by Caepio the Roman general "was part of the plunder which they had carried off from "Delphi, and which, upon their returning home, they "had conſecrated to the gods, in order to placate them, "having added to it much treaſure of their own; and that "Caepio, for preſuming to lay hands on this ſacred depoſit, "had periſhed miſerably with his whole family. But what "Poſidonius relates is much more credible. He ſays, that the "treaſures found at Toulouſe, to the amount of 15,000 "talents, were either laid up in the temples, or concealed "in the ſacred lakes, and conſiſted altogether of unwrought "gold and ſilver. But at the time when the Gauls invaded "Greece, the Delphic temple had no ſuch treaſure, having "been lately plundered by the Phocians. And what little "the Gauls might have got there, the ſoldiers would probably "have had divided among them. Neither is it likely, that "theſe Tectoſages ever reached their native land, having "ſuffered great miſeries, after they left Delphi, and been "diſperſed under different leaders in different countries." Strab. Caſaub. L. iv. p. 130. — Allowing, however, what Strabo does not ſeem willing to allow, that a part of theſe invaders reached Toulouſe, and brought ſome portion of the

Amidſt

Amidſt theſe fictions, it is not impoſſible to trace the truth. From Juſtin [16] we learn, that the Delphians, far from relying on any ſupernatural intervention, provided for their preſervation with admirable dexterity. They iſſued orders, in the name of the oracle, to the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, to abandon their dwellings, leaving them well ſtored with all manner of proviſions and plenty of wines. This ſcheme had the deſired effect. The Gauls, ſharpened by hunger, and meeting with no enemy to oppoſe them, freely indulged themſelves, thinking they were in full ſecurity. The contrivance gave the Greeks an opportunity of making more effectual preparations, and of collecting ſuccours from the neighbouring cities; and the barbarians, diſordered by exceſs, loſt much of that vigor, by which their operations had been generally diſtinguiſhed.

Cauſes of their diſcomfiture.

Precautions of the Delphians.

The ſituation alſo of Delphi furniſhed the inhabitants with the means of diſplaying their ingenuity in another manner. Mount Parnaſſus, on the ſide of which ſtood the ſacred city, had many caves and windings, from whence proceeded a variety of curious echoes. By ſtationing people in proper places,

Situation of Delphi.

plundered wealth home with them, it does not follow that this was the plunder of Delphi. They had already enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of Macedon; and Pauſanias (in Phocicis) expreſsly tells us, that, when the Gallic chiefs marched to Delphi, a part of the army was left at Heraclea, to guard the treaſure they had amaſſed, and which they left behind them in their camp; ὥι ἔμελλον φρουρήσειν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδου χρήματα.

[16] Juſt. L. xxiv. c. 7.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

with inſtructions to ſhout and ſcream out, as occaſion required, it is plain, that the natural effects of the place muſt have produced a multiplicity of ſtrange voices, which iſſuing loudly forth, without any viſible cauſe, from every ſide, with an extraordinary increaſe of reberberating ſounds, could not but ſtrike terror and diſmay into an uninſtructed multitude, and beget in them an opinion, that beings more than human were concerned in producing them.

The mountaineers of Parnaſſus tumble down fragments of rocks on the Gauls;

On the ſame principle may be explained the concuſſions of the mountain, and the diſruption of thoſe large fragments, which, we are told, rolled down, and overwhelmed the Gauls, as they attempted to aſcend. Well acquainted with the heights of Parnaſſus, the inhabitants, doubtleſs, had it in their power to looſen many of the rocks of that precipice, and to roll them down on the enemy. The mountaineers of the Alps [16] practiſed the like operation againſt Hannibal, in his paſſage into Italy: and theſe maſſy bodies, bounding in their deſcent from cliff to cliff, and daſhing at length againſt the bottom with impetuous violence, might well cauſe ſomewhat of a tremulous motion all around.

the Gauls rude and ignorant, eaſily impreſſed with terror.

The Gauls, therefore a rude people, and prone to wonder, finding themſelves aſſailed by ſtrange voices and terrifying ſounds, which ſeemed to proceed from beings of a ſuperior order; hearing the noiſe of mountains tumbling over their heads, ſeeing numbers of their companions deſtroyed by the ſudden ruin that appeared to deſcend from heaven; feeling, at the

[16] See Liv. L. xxvii. c. 34.

ſame time, the ground to looſen and tremble beneath their feet; might very poſſibly be led to conclude, that the gods intereſted themſelves againſt them. The reſt is eaſily accounted for. The mind, once ſtruck with a panic, is apt to magnify the moſt trifling objects, and often imagines circumſtances that never had exiſtence. The ſuperſtition of the times aſſiſted the illuſion; and the Greeks, both then, and for ages after, whether miſled by credulity or prompted by intereſt, failed not to ſupport the credit of theſe legendary tales.

True cauſe of Brennus's deſpair.

It appears, nevertheleſs, from Pauſanias[17], that the act of deſpair, of which Brennus was guilty, was owing to the apprehenſions he had of his own countrymen. He it was who had engaged them in this unproſperous expedition; and he dreaded their reſentment. There is alſo the fulleſt evidence from Strabo[18], and other ancient writers, that the Gauls were not all cut off. Juſtin himſelf, who ſays, not one of them eſcaped, acknowledges, in another place that part of them made their way into Thrace, and part into Aſia[19]. This is alſo confirmed by the teſtimony of Polybius[20], from whom we learn, that they formed a conſiderable ſettlement in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; and after ſome years brought even the Byzantines under a tributary ſubjection.

Loſs ſuſtained by the Gauls exaggerated.

Noble vigor exerted by the Greeks;

The ſucceſs thus obtained by the arms of Greece

[17] See Pauſan. in Phocicis.

[18] See Strab. ubi. ſup.

[19] Juſt. L. xxxii. c. 3.

[20] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 46.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

againſt theſe barbarian tribes, who, ſpreading devaſtation through moſt of the European nations, had, for above a hundred years, diſputed the prize of empire with Rome herſelf, ſhows the ſpirit and vigor of the Grecian people when fully exerted; and leads us to conceive what they might have achieved, had they not ſuffered their ſtrength to conſume away in domeſtic diviſions, and deſtructive conteſts for ſovereignty between city and city. United firmly together, and employing their joint efforts for the preſervation of their common liberties, they might long have ſpurned the yoke of bondage, and have bid defiance to every foreign foe.

by the Athenians in particular.

It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the Athenians, in whom, for many years before, the ſpirit of ancient days ſeemed to have been altogether extinguiſhed, ſhould, on this occaſion, have deſerved to be ranked among the foremoſt of the deliverers of Greece; and it is no leſs remarkable, that, after the expulſion of theſe barbarians, this principle of virtue, by which they were now actuated, ſhould at once loſe its whole activity and power. From this time, therefore, they make but a contemptible figure in the affairs of Greece; acting only a ſecondary part in the various revolutions that followed; and ſeemingly concerned, not ſo much for the preſervation of their liberties, as into whoſe hands they ſhould deliver them.

Antigonus, ſon to Demetrius Poliorcetes, gets poſſeſſion of Macedon;

The kingdom of Macedon had ſuffered ſeverely during the late irruptions of the Gauls; and it might have been expected, that, impoveriſhed as it now was, it would have been permitted to enjoy ſome interval of repoſe. It appears, nevertheleſs, to have

been ſtill an object of ambition to the neighbouring princes. Antigonus, ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, ſince his father's misfortunes, held poſſeſſion of ſome of the Peloponneſian cities, revived pretenſions to it, which he had attempted to urge in the beginning of the reign of Ceraunus. His plea was, "his father had ſat on the throne of Macedon, and, "by his mother Philla, he was of the houſe of Anti-"pater." Accordingly, when he found the Gauls had retired, he marched an army into what he called his own dominions. Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, on the other hand, advanced a title not leſs ſpecious; "he "claimed Macedon in right of his father, who in fair "battle had won it with his ſword from Lyſimachus;" and prepared to ſupport his claim by a powerful armament. Means, however, were contrived to compromiſe the matter. It was agreed, that Antigonus ſhould wed the princeſs Philla, whom Seleucus had by Stratonice before he reſigned her to his ſon: and in conſequence of this marriage, Antiochus relinquiſhed his pretenſions to Macedon in favor of Antigonus.

This re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity was of ſhort continuance. A body of Gauls [21] had halted, and ſettled on the northern boundaries of Macedon, at the time Brennus was carrying on his ravages to the ſouthward. They ſoon heard that Antigonus had brought much treaſure from Peloponneſus, and that Macedon began again to give proofs of cultivation and proſperity. Allured by the proſpect of plunder, they ſent an embaſſy to Antigonus, requiring

is attacked by another body of Gauls,

[21] Juſt. L. xxv. c. 1, 2.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

the payment of a certain ſubſidy, on which condition they tendered him peace. Antigonus refuſed to comply with terms ſo diſhonorable; at the ſame time, thinking to intimidate his adverſaries by a diſplay of his power, he entertained their ambaſſadors with great parade, and made a ſplendid exhibition of his army and equipments for war. The report of the ambaſſadors, upon their return home, ſerved only as an additional incitement to the barbarians, who immediately made an inroad into Macedon. Antigonus ſaw his miſtake, and endeavoured to repair it. As if fearful of giving battle, he ſuffered them to carry on their depredations unmoleſted; but when incumbered with booty, he fell on them with his troops, which he had diſpoſed in places proper for the purpoſe, and made great ſlaughter; few of the enemy, ſay hiſtorians, eſcaping. It is nevertheleſs evident, that, with all theſe exterminations, of which we ſo frequently read, the Gauls muſt have had at this period powerful ſettlements in moſt of the adjacent countries, eſpecially to the north of Macedon; for, from this period, ſcarcely any war was undertaken among the nations of thoſe parts, in which they were not employed as mercenaries.

and defeats them.

Pyrrhus invades Macedon:

This invaſion was hardly over, when, as if Macedon was never to enjoy repoſe, a new enemy[22] appeared. Pyrrhus has been already mentioned; but ſo uncommon a character deſerves more particular notice. His life had been a conſtant ſcene of adven-

his various

[22] Plutarch in Pyrrho. Juſt. L. xxv. c. 3, 4. 6. Pauſan. in Atticis.

tures. Even in his infancy, when his father Aeacidas, king of Epire, and nephew to Olympias, had been driven from his throne, through the intrigues of Caſſander of Macedon, his life had been preſerved in a wonderful manner. Caſſander, the mortal foe of Olympias and her lineage, had ſworn the extirpation of the houſe of Aeacidas; and had given directions to his faction, that the young prince eſpecially ſhould not eſcape. Pyrrhus's attendants contrived, nevertheleſs, to convey him out of Epire; but, in their flight, they found themſelves ſtopped by a river, ſwollen and unfordable by heavy rains. There was no boat, and the purſuers were at hand. In this diſtreſs, one of his retinue, having written with the tongue of a buckle on a piece of oak-bark, an account of the fortunes of the infant they had in charge, and of the dangers that threatened him, faſtened it to a javelin, and threw it to the oppoſite ſide; which moving the compaſſion of the people of the country, they provided immediately a raft, and got him over. From thence they made their way to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, who was married to Beröe, a princeſs of the royal houſe of Epire. Upon coming into the king's preſence, being doubtful of the reception they ſhould meet with, they laid the child at his feet in the poſture of a ſuppliant. The king, who dreaded Caſſander, remained a conſiderable time wrapped in ſilent ſuſpenſe, ſeemingly revolving what part he ſhould act. During which, Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping cloſe to him, took hold of his robe, raiſed himſelf up, and clung round his knees. Won by this artleſs pleading of the little infant,

fortunes from his infancy.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

Glaucias caught him in his arms, and delivered him to the queen, to be brought up with his own children; and, though afterwards repeatedly ſolicited by Caſſander, who employed both threats and promiſes, he ſteadily refuſed to withdraw his protection from him; and when twelve years old, he conducted him in perſon back to Epire, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors. Pyrrhus had reigned about five years, when, another revolution taking place, he was again obliged to quit Epire; and fled to Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia. With him he remained for ſome years; he fought by his ſide at the battle of Ipſus; and, when a treaty was concluded by Demetrius with Ptolemy and Seleucus, he went as an hoſtage for his patron into Egypt. This viſit to the Egyptian court proved the means of reſtoring the fortune of Pyrrhus. His accompliſhments recommended him to the favor of Ptolemy and Berenice, who gave him in marriage Antigone, daughter of Berenice by her firſt huſband, and enabled him to recover the kingdom of Epire. The ſhare he afterwards had in the revolutions of Macedon, his obtaining a part of that kingdom, and loſing it again, have been already related.

Pyrrhus, now reſtored to Epire, relieved from foreign wars, and in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his hereditary throne, had nothing to divert his attention from the proſperity of his kingdom. But his mind knew not repoſe. The Tarentines, who had raſhly engaged in war againſt Rome, applied to him for aſſiſtance; and his ambitious ſpirit eagerly ſeized an opportunity from which he fondly promiſed to

himself nothing less than the conquest of all the kingdoms of the earth. What events this expedition produced, is the business of another history. It may be sufficient here to observe, that after various exploits in Italy and Sicily, which only ended in making his name memorable, he had returned to Epire, full of indignation against Antigonus, to whom he had applied for succours without obtaining them. In revenge, therefore, he made an irruption into the Macedonian borders. His view at first was only depredation; but, place after place falling before him, and the Macedonians themselves (by whom he was held in great admiration on account of his martial achievements, and a strong resemblance they fancied he bore to Alexander the Great) favoring his progress and deserting to him, he was tempted to proceed; and, having defeated Antigonus in a pitched battle, found himself almost unexpectedly in possession of the throne of Macedon.

Pyrrhus defeats Antigonus and gets possession of Macedon:

This revolution was far from alleviating the calamities of the Macedonians. Pyrrhus valued victory, as it was the means of plunder, and used it accordingly. He had, besides, inlisted into his service a body of mercenary Gauls, whom he recompensed by permitting them to plunder those nations whom they had helped him to conquer. Accordingly, wherever they came, neither public nor private wealth escaped: the sepulchres of the Macedonian kings at Aegæ they even polluted and ransacked, for the sake of the treasures they were supposed to conceal.

permits his mercenary Gauls to plunder;

Antigonus, however, had not yet given up the contest. He was still master of Thessalonica and the

leaves Ptolemy, his son, governor of

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

Macedon, by whom Antigonus is again defeated;

adjoining coaſts; and having aſſembled a new army, marched againſt Ptolemy, the ſon of Pyrrhus, whom his father had left to govern the kingdom during his abſence in Epire; but Antigonus was again defeated, and with difficulty ſaved himſelf by flight. Had Pyrrhus known how to make a proper uſe of his preſent advantages, the throne of Macedon had probably been for ever loſt to Antigonus; but, hurried away by his paſſion for war, he ſoon proſecuted other adventures.

marches againſt Sparta,

Cleonymus, a prince of the royal blood of Sparta, driven by certain wrongs from his country, had applied to him for protection. "Areus," he alledged, "had uſurped the Spartan throne to his prejudice; "and, which to him was a far more grievous injury, "his wife Chelidonis, whom he dearly loved, had "been ſeduced by Acrotatus, ſon to Areus, and "was forcibly with-held from him." Pyrrhus liſtened willingly to complaints, which opened new ſcenes to his ambition; he promiſed to avenge the cauſe of Cleonymus; and, marching at the head of twenty-five thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants, arrived within ſight of Sparta before his adverſaries were aware of his intentions.

and is near ſurpriſing it.

His approach ſpread conſternation throughout the city. Areus was abſent in Crete, and had carried with him the flower of the Spartan army; thoſe who remained at home being moſtly perſons who, from their age or ſex, were incapable of military ſervice. Had Pyrrhus therefore proceeded with his wonted impetuoſity, it was ſcarcely poſſible that Sparta ſhould have made a long defence; but he had reached

that city at close of day; and, fearing that amidst the confusion of the night he should not have it in his power to restrain his troops from pillaging, he thought it adviseable to delay the attack until the morning.

Heroism of the Spartan women.

His delay saved the Spartans. The council having assembled upon the first alarm, it had been proposed to send off the women; but the women of Sparta were unacquainted with fear: apprized therefore of the proposal, they deputed Archidamia to deliver their sentiments to the senate. She entered the assembly armed, with a sword in her hand, and thus addressed them, "Deem not, men of Sparta, so "meanly of the Spartan women, as to imagine they "will survive, when their country is no more: "consider not then, *whither* we are to fly; determine "only what we are to do; and whatever station "shall be assigned to us, that we are prepared to "undertake and to perform." Animated by this spirited address, it was resolved to employ the night in sinking a trench opposite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed firmly in the ground, in order to prevent the passing of the elephants; the trench to be in breadth six cubits, in depth four, in length eight hundred. One third of this work the women undertook to execute; the old men were to complete the rest; the young men not being allowed to assist in it, that they might be in full strength to sustain the enemy's charge in the morning.

Brave defence of the Spartans.

At day-break Pyrrhus saw with amazement what the night had produced; commanding, however,

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

a general aſſault, he endeavoured to force his way by ſtorm; but every where he found a vigorous reſiſtance; the Spartan line oppoſed an impenetrable rampart of ſhields and briſtling weapons; and the mould having been newly thrown up, afforded the Macedonians a treacherous footing; ſo that, tumbling back into the ditch, numbers were ſlaughtered. Meanwhile, Ptolemy, the ſon of Pyrrhus, had nearly triumphed over all the precaution of the Spartans. Obſerving them to be too ſecure of one part, which was fortified by the waggons, and leſs attentive to its defence, he made an attack upon that quarter, at the head of two thouſand Gauls. Already had he cleared away the carriages, and was laying open a paſſage, when Acrotatus, perceiving the danger, ſallied from the oppoſite part of the city, and wheeling round by the hollow-way that lay at the foot of the hills, unexpectedly attacked and diſlodged the Macedonians with great carnage [23].

Night at length parted the combatants, but

[23] We have here from Plutarch (in Phocicis) a ſtriking inſtance of the ſhameful diſregard in which the connubial vow was held by the pagan world. As Acrotatus, after performing the exploit of diſlodging the enemy, was returning through the city, *he appeared to the Spartan women*, ſays the biographer, *taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not forbear envying Chelidonis ſuch a lover:* nay, even ſome of the old men followed, and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and "enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offſpring be worthy of "Sparta!" and yet had the diſloyalty of this very Chelidonis been one of the principal cauſes that had provoked the preſent war.

without abating their fury. They waited impatiently for the morning; and, as soon as it appeared, the action was renewed with the same obstinate violence. The women of Sparta shared every danger with their countrymen; they supplied them with ammunition and refreshments, they attended the wounded, and carried off the dead. After repeated efforts, Pyrrhus, who saw the trench was not to be forced, determined to penetrate the barricado of waggons, which his son had unsuccessfully attempted the preceding day. Through these he forced his way; and, with a number of horsemen getting within the Spartan lines, advanced full speed towards the city. At sight of this the Spartan women sent forth a shriek of despair, imagining, that Sparta had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The moment was truly critical; Sparta was in the most imminent danger; and appears to have been saved merely by one of those unforeseen events on which the fate of kingdoms often depend. A Cretan archer, taking aim at the king; buried an arrow in the body of his horse, who, plunging in the agonies of death, threw his rider. The Macedonians, apprehending their sovereign was slain, fell back. And the Spartans, at the same instant, rushing forward, recovered their ground, and compelled Pyrrhus to consult his safety by retiring.

Pyrrhus is repulsed,

He was not discouraged. "To-morrow," said he, "we will resume the fight; by which time the "Spartans will have felt their wounds, and be less "able to resist us." But that very night a body of troops from Antigonus entered the city. And a few

prepares to march for Argos;

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

hours after Areus himſelf arrived, with two thouſand men. Pyrrhus ſaw, that to ſtorm Sparta was now altogether impracticable; and, having received an invitation from the people of Argos to haſten to their aſſiſtance againſt Antigonus, he gladly availed himſelf of the pretence, and prepared to withdraw his troops.

is purſued by the Spartans;

This was a matter of greater difficulty than he imagined. Areus, filled with reſentment, obſerved all his motions; and, as ſoon as he had begun his march, by hanging on his flank and rear, galled him ſeverely. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, and adventuring too far among the enemy, was ſurrounded and ſlain. This was a ſevere blow to Pyrrhus. He was his ſon by Antigone, ſtep-daughter to Ptolemy king of Egypt; and was accounted one of the moſt amiable princes of his time. Pyrrhus ſhowed his concern in a manner natural to his character. He turned upon the enemy, and ſacrificed to his revenge all who fell in his way.

his ſon Ptolemy in ſlain,

He is refuſed admittance into Argos,

On his arrival at Argos, he found the ſituation of affairs very different from what his hopes had repreſented them. He poſſeſſed, it is true a faction among the Argives; but Antigonus had likewiſe his; and was encamped with a reſpectable force at a ſmall diſtance from the city. The citizens of Argos, beſides, began to ſee the miſtake they had been guilty of, in calling in theſe high-ſpirited and ambitious princes; and, apprehenſive of the iſſue, both parties had united in requeſting the two kings not to make their city a ſcene of bloodſhed; but, whatever might be their diſputes, to decide them without the

gates. Antigonus promiſed to comply. Pyrrhus alſo acquieſced; but, tempted by the advantages he expected to derive from the poſſeſſion of the city, in violation of his royal word, he prevailed upon ſome of his partiſans to admit him privately by night.

attempts to enter it by night,

The night choſen for the purpoſe being dark; the gate narrow; and the ſtreet, leading from it, ſtrait and ſlippery; the Macedonians, who were ſtrangers to the place, were much embarraſſed, and ſoon fell into confuſion. Before the evil could be remedied, day-light appeared. Pyrrhus now ſaw himſelf beſet with difficulties: the poſts of importance were all in the hands of Antigonus's friends; the citizens were coming down upon him from all quarters; and the narrowneſs of the ſtreet, together with the crowds that poured in, made it impoſſible for his troops either to form or to advance. Convinced therefore of the folly of the attempt, he reſolved to retire; and accordingly directed his ſon Helenus, who commanded without the gate, to break down part of the city-walls, in order to give a free paſſage to his troops in their retreat. But his orders were unfortunately miſtaken; the troops without, ſtriving to ruſh in to his aſſiſtance, added to the uproar, and at the ſame time one of the elephants falling, choked up the gate-way. Amidſt the tumult which this ſcene of confuſion occaſioned, Pyrrhus, endeavouring to keep off the multitude, received a ſlight wound from the hand of an Argive; when turning on him, to revenge the blow, the mother of the man, who happened to be looking at the battle from the roof of an adjoining houſe, terrified at the danger to

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

which her son's life was exposed, aimed a tile at the king [24]; which falling on his helmet, brought him senseless to the ground; this misfortune one of Antigonus's officers perceiving, dragged him immediately aside, and struck off his head [25].

and is slain by the hand of a woman;

Such was the humiliating fall of this warrior, whose active life had been productive of so much devastation and bloodshed.

his character as a warrior,

Pyrrhus is ranked by many among the greatest generals of antiquity. Even Hannibal, if we may believe Plutarch [26], accounted him the first in genius and skill the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to him, being only the second; and himself the third. Whatever authenticity may be in this story, the tradition shows in what high estimation his military abilities were held. He was certainly possessed of great talents, and he had been a blessing to the age in which he lived, had his turbulent spirit, and thirst for military fame, permitted him to employ his powers for the happiness, instead of the destruction of mankind.

as a king.

The ills which his

Epire suffered, under his reign, all the calamities

[24] Such, it appears, was the terror the Argives had of Pyrrhus, that they considered the deliverance, which they obtained by his death, as the effect of some supernatural interposition. It was, said they, Ceres, who, having assumed the form of an old woman, discharged the tile on his head, in order to save her favorite Argos from this fell warrior. And accordingly a temple was raised to Ceres on the spot where Pyrrhus was slain. Pausan. in Atticis.

[25] Olymp. cxxvi. 4. Before Christ 272.

[26] In Pyrrho.

which

ambition brought on his kingdom.

which generally diſtinguiſh the reigns of ambitious princes. Neither did the miſeries he brought upon it end with his life. Alexander, his ſon and ſucceſſor, inured by his father to arms from his earlieſt years, and ſeduced by that appearance of glory which Pyrrhus's achievements had caſt around him, purſued the ſame martial track, and, like his father, marked his whole reign with commotion and bloodſhed. Soon after the death of this prince, followed the ruin of his royal houſe; in which the ſame cauſes appear to have had a conſiderable ſhare. His two ſons, haraſſed whilſt they lived by different foes, died young. And the princeſs Laodamia, to whom the ſucceſſion devolved, was murdered in an inſurrection of her own ſubjects at the altar of Diana, where ſhe had taken ſanctuary [27]. Such an atrocious violation of whatever was deemed moſt ſacred, ſhows the degree of ferocity which the Epirots had contracted in the courſe of ſo many wars, and perhaps the reſentment alſo they entertained of the ills, which the turbulence of their princes had brought upon them.

From this time, hiſtory ſpeaks of them as a people ſunk into the loweſt and moſt abject condition; having neither wiſdom to cultivate peace, nor vigor to defend themſelves in war; but, waſted by inceſſant civil broils, and the incurſions of foreign enemies, they dwindled into inſignificancy, and were at length almoſt totally exterminated [28].

[27] Juſt. L. xxvi. c. 1. 3.

[28] Juſtin ubi ſupra.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

This repreſentation of Juſtin will hardly be thought exaggerated, when we conſider the ravages to which the Epirots had been ſo long expoſed from their neighbours of Aetolia, of Theſſaly, of Illyricum, of Macedon; nations practiſed in war and depredation, to whoſe hoſtilities their territories lay open: and eſpecially too when we reflect upon the devaſtation which the Romans alſo made among them; laying in ruins in one day every town in Epire, and carrying into captivity all the inhabitants, that were young and fit for ſervice; to the amount, the Roman hiſtorians themſelves confeſs, of a hundred and fifty thouſand.

But theſe tranſactions belong to a later period. They have been only ſlightly mentioned here, on account of their connexion with our hiſtory of the reign of Pyrrhus.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Macedonian and Grecian affairs under Antigonus — his ſon Demetrius — and Antigonus the ſecond, kings of Macedon. — Origin of the republic of Achaia — it's decay — re-eſtabliſhment — aggrandizement, and proſperity — from what cauſes.

BOOK IV. Sect. I. Antigonus recovers the kingdom of Macedon;

UPON the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus was again ſeated on the throne of Macedon. He now ſaw himſelf without a rival; and, as if he had ſucceeded to Pyrrhus's ambition, as well as to his power, he began already to form ſchemes for the reduction of Greece. But, the more formidable he affected to appear, the more formidable became the oppoſition to his views. The ſtates that had favored Pyrrhus, marked all his ſteps with jealous eyes; and even thoſe who had been moſt forward in eſpouſing

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

his cauſe, could not, without juſt apprehenſions, behold a king of Macedon maſter of extenſive poſſeſſions in the very heart of Peloponneſus. Nay, Areus, the Spartan king, who had fought on the ſame ſide, was not free from well-grounded fears, and thought it adviſeable to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt Antigonus, by applying for ſuccours to Ptolemy Euergetes, then on the throne of Egypt, the moſt powerful prince of his time, and connected by friendſhip and intereſts with many of the Grecian ſtates.

excites the jealouſy of the other Grecian ſtates;

is attacked by the Gauls:

Amidſt theſe preparations and expectations of war, a new and moſt formidable enemy appeared. A freſh irruption of Gauls, after hovering for ſome time on the frontiers, broke in at length upon Macedon; which they ravaged with a barbarity unexampled even among thoſe fierce invaders. Alarmed at the approach of a foe, whoſe very name carried diſmay along with it, the Macedonians fled before them, and prepared to abandon a country, to the devaſtation of which they ſaw no end. In this exigency, Antigonus added caution to courage; and his conduct ſaved Macedon. Careful to avoid this impetuous torrent of barbarians, he permitted them to ſpend their fury in wild excurſion. He obſerved all their motions at a diſtance; he haraſſed them, as occaſion offered, and he endeavoured to lead them into ſome of thoſe defiles with which Macedon abounds. His plan ſucceeded. Intangled in the incloſures of mountains, where their exertions

his prudent conduct:

[1] Juſt. L. xxvi. c. 2.

were confined, they found themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by the forces of Antigonus, who had occupied all the paſſes. Terror and amazement ſeized them; whilſt their diſtreſs was heightened by the bards that attended their expedition, in whoſe knowledge of future events they placed a ſuperſtitious and implicit faith. Poſſeſſed with gloomy apprehenſions of the danger which ſurrounded them, with dreadful howlings, and ſhrieks of woe, they denounced diſcomfiture and death. The army caught the panic from their diviners; and, in the phrenſy of deſpair, turning their rage on their wives and children, they ſlaughtered them all; and then, beſmeared over with their blood, ruſhed on to battle. The mad onſet of ſuch a panic-ſtruck multitude could avail but little againſt the regular charge and cool courage of the Macedonian line. They were accordingly cut to pieces to a man.

he defeats them;

Elated with the ſucceſs, which thus had crowned his arms, Antigonus looked forward with heightened confidence, and haſtened to complete the reduction of the Grecian ſtates, in which he now expected to find little difficulty. He began with the ſiege of Athens[2]. That city had ſubmitted to the arms of his father Poliorcetes; and had paid him the moſt ſervile adulation in the day of his power; but in his day of diſtreſs ſhe had ſhut her gates againſt him. Upon this and other grounds Antigonus founded claims, which he required the Athenians to admit; whilſt their more recent declaration for Pyrrhus,

plans the reduction of Greece;

beſieges Athens,

[2] Pauſan. in Laconicis.

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

to whom, during his conteſt with Antigonus, they had ſent ambaſſadors, ſwelled the catalogue of wrongs, for which he inſiſted for reparation. The danger which threatened Athens, was conſidered as the common cauſe of Greece, whoſe fate ſeemed involved in the humiliation of this illuſtrious city. The veneration in which ſhe was ſtill held, co-operated with the idea of general danger, and drew aid from all parts. Areus, the Spartan king, marched in perſon to her aſſiſtance; and Ptolemy ſent a powerful fleet, with troops, ammunition, and ſupplies of every kind. But, notwithſtanding every exertion, Antigonus prevailed at length; and the Athenians were obliged to purchaſe his forgiveneſs by admitting a Macedonian garriſon.

takes it;

is attacked at home by Alexander of Epire,

But whilſt Antigonus was thus making conqueſts in other kingdoms, he was on the point of loſing his own. Alexander of Epire, Pyrrhus's ſon, ſtimulated, it is probable, by ſome of the Grecian ſtates, who thought it their ſafeſt expedient to raiſe enemies to Antigonus at home, had entered Macedon [1]. Antigonus haſtened back to repel the invaſion; when the whole Macedonian nation, tired of a king, whoſe reſtleſs ambition allowed them no reſpite, revolted, and, declaring for Alexander, forced Antigonus, after ſome fruitleſs efforts, to relinquiſh all immediate hopes of a re-eſtabliſhment, and to retire to the dominions he ſtill poſſeſſed in Greece.

and loſes Macedon.

Antigonus had a ſon named Demetrius, then a

[1] Juſt. ubi ſup.

ſtripling; who, unſubdued by this reverſe of fortune, diſdained to accompany his father in his flight, reſolving either to recover the throne, which he had been taught to conſider as his hereditary right, or to periſh in the conteſt. The generous ſpirit of this gallant prince gained him friends: a party was formed in his favor; and ſo happily did he improve his opportunities, that he not only obliged Alexander to relinquiſh Macedon, but attacked him in Epire, and, in return, ſtripped him almoſt of *his* paternal kingdom [s].

His ſon Demetrius recovers it for him:

From this time Antigonus preſerved Macedon till his death; but, uninſtructed by his various troubles, he retained to the laſt his fondneſs for turbulent ſcenes. His favorite object was ſtill the ſubjection of the Greek republics; and this purſuit he continued even in his moſt advanced age, endeavouring to accompliſh by fraud and intrigue, what he could not venture to attempt by force of arms.

his views on Greece;

Of this kind was the laſt act recorded concerning him [t]. The tyrant Alexander held Corinth, one of the moſt important places in Greece, which commanded the entrance into Peloponneſus. This prince Antigonus contrived to have taken off by poiſon; but his ſovereignty was bequeathed to his wife Nicaea, a woman advanced in years, fond of power, and of its poſſeſſion exceedingly jealous. With ſuch a character, ſome extraordinary artifice

attempts Corinth by artifice,

[s] Juſt. ubi ſup.

[t] Plutarch in Arato.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

was neceſſary; and Antigonus deviſed one. His ſon Demetrius, who was young and handſome, he commanded to repair to Nicaea's court, to attach himſelf to her perſon, and to offer her his hand. Nicaea's vanity favored the deception, and the marriage was accordingly ſolemnized, Antigonus himſelf honoring it with his preſence.

and gets poſſeſſion of it;

The principal point, nevertheleſs, was ſtill to be gained; Nicaea cautiouſly retaining in her own power the citadel, without which the poſſeſſion of Corinth was of little conſequence. Antigonus, pretending to be perfectly ſatisfied, continued to pay her particular attention, and affected to appear in perſon among her retinue, whenever ſhe choſe to appear in public. It happened, one day, that a celebrated ſinger was to perform in the theatre, for the entertainment of Nicaea and her royal gueſts. Upon her ſetting out, Antigonus, ſeemingly to do her honor, attended her litter; but, having gone a little way, whilſt, unſuſpicious of fraud, ſhe was proceeding towards the theatre, he ſlipped aſide, and, proceeding haſtily to the fort, either through ſurpriſe, or the treachery of the guard, he obtained admittance, and introduced a garriſon of his own.

loſes Corinth again:

Antigonus, however, received no laſting benefit from an acquiſition purchaſed at the price of ſo much artifice. The Corinthian citadel he held only about eight years, the Achaeans wreſting it then out of his hands [g]. He would not, however, have tamely reſigned the hopes of repoſſeſſing a fortreſs, the

[g] Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

importance of which no man better underſtood; and he had even entered into alliance with the Aetolians, in order, jointly with them, to fall upon Achaia; but death [7] put an end to all his ambitious projects, after a reign of thirty-four years, from his firſt acquiſition of the throne of Macedon [8].

dies:

This prince, who is known in hiſtory by the name of Antigonus Gonatas [9], was ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius, whoſe reign was leſs active, and probably, for that very reaſon, leſs fatal to Macedon, than his father's. The wars he engaged in were few, and of ſhort continuance. The moſt remarkable was againſt the Aetolians, whom he pretended to chaſtiſe for having invaded Acarnania, then belonging to Epire: but the Achaeans eſpouſing their cauſe, Demetrius was worſted [10], and prudently withdrew into Macedon. From that time he adopted a new plan of policy in relation to Greece; maintaining an intereſt in the different ſtates, not by

his ſon Demetrius ſucceeds:

his policy towards the Grecian ſtates:

[7] Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. Before Christ 244.

[8] The ſovereignty of certain cities of Peloponneſus he acquired ten years earlier, at the time of Poliorcetes's captivity. We hear no more of Nicaea; hiſtorians poſſibly thinking, with Antigonus, that ſhe had fulfilled her deſtination, and was now to be thrown aſide.

[9] Whence this name, whether from the place of his birth, as ſome writers have imagined, though, as far as appears, without ſufficient foundation; or whether from his miſ-ſhapen knees, the word Gonatas admitting of this interpretation *, is a queſtion of little moment. The antiquarian may conſider it.

[10] Polyb. L. ii. c. 44.

* See Rhodig. Lection. Antiq. L. xxiv. c. 5.

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

holding the ſovereignty himſelf, but by ſupporting the petty tyrants, in whoſe hands uſurpation had placed it: ſo that, as appears from Polybius [11], they became all his creatures, receiving his pay, and acting by his inſtructions. A ſpecies of power leſs odious than if he had held them in avowed ſubjection, and not leſs effectual.

his marriages:

Beſides the old woman of Corinth, he married not only a princeſs of the royal houſe of Syria, ſiſter to Antiochus Hierax; but afterwards, during the diſtreſs of the houſe of Epire, Olympias, the widow of Alexander, in the view of engaging his protection to her afflicted family, prevailed on him to marry her daughter Pthia [12]. This marriage was imprudent, and might have involved Macedon in many troubles. It was highly reſented by the Syrian princeſs, who withdrew to Aſia. And the affairs of Epire might have engaged Demetrius in meaſures pernicious to his own dominions; but his death [13],

and death:

and the wiſdom of his ſucceſſor, prevented the conſequences that might have been expected.

Antigonus the ſecond ſucceeds:

This prince reigned only ten years; and his kinſman, Antigonus, ſucceeded him. Demetrius, nevertheleſs, had left an infant ſon, Philip; but the Macedonians, dreading the confuſion with which a minority is often attended, and judging Antigonus to be a man of moderation, and well affected to his

[11] Ος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ſays Polybius, ſpeaking of this Demetrius, and the tyrants of Peloponneſus of his time, διονὲι χαρηνὸς καὶ μισθοδότης. See Polyb. Caſaub. L. ii. c. 44. p. 182.

[12] Juſt. L. xxviii. c. 1.

[13] OLYMP. CXXXVI. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 235.

country, placed him on the throne, and obliged him, at the ſame time, to take the queen-mother to wife. He juſtified the favorable opinion his ſubjects had conceived of him. He accepted of the crown as a truſt he was to hold for the young prince, ſon to the deceaſed king. He beſtowed the ſame care on him, as if he had been his own ſon: he deſigned him for his ſucceſſor; and he employed his utmoſt attention to render him worthy of the throne he was one day to fill.

his probity.

His character as a king was not leſs reſpectable. By his equity, he gained the confidence of his neighbours; and he acquired the love of his people, by a merciful adminiſtration of juſtice. He was cautious not to endanger the proſperity of his kingdom by an imprudent purſuit of foreign intereſts, which had been too much the policy of the two laſt reigns; and he choſe rather to forego ſome diſtant claims, than to engage the Macedonians in expenſive and doubtful wars.

the wiſdom of his policy.

What rendered this happy temper of mind the more honorable, was the period in which Antigonus lived; when the turbulent ſtate of affairs afforded the faireſt opportunities to ambition; both Spartans and Achaeans endeavouring, either by force or intrigue, to bring about a revolution of government in moſt parts of Greece. It will be neceſſary to explain theſe matters more particularly.

State of Greece in his days.

Towards the end of the reign of Gonatas, conſiderable alterations had taken place in Peloponneſus. The republic of Achaia, which, till this period, had been contented with an unambitious

Republic of Achaia;

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

privacy, began to assume a very different port, and seemed to have nothing less in view than the sovereignty of Greece. This republic had its first establishment in early ages, and was composed originally of twelve towns [14], one of which, Helice, perished by an earthquake in the fourth year of the one hundred and first Olympiad [15], and another, Olenus, was deserted and fell to ruins. The district, which these cities occupied, bordered upon the Crissaean or Corinthian gulph and the Ionian sea, extending along the coast from Sicyon to Elis. It was bounded to the south-east by Arcadia, so as to form the north-west angle of Peloponnesus; and did not much exceed fifty miles in length, and in breadth about twenty-five. The first government known among them had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings. But in process of time, these cities, stimulated by the oppressive excesses of their princes, threw off kingly government, and united together in one confederacy [16]; pledging themselves to each other to employ their joint and utmost efforts for their mutual defence. All were to have the same interests; the same friendships; the same coins, weights, and measures; the same laws; and the same magistrates. These magistrates were to be

its origin

and form:

[14] We have from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) the names of these twelve towns, Patrae, Dymé, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, (or rather Carynea) Olenus, and Helice.

[15] A short time before the battle of Leuctra. See Polyb. ubi sup. See also Pausan. in Achaicis.

[16] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 37.

elected annually by the majority of the ſuffrages of the whole community. Twice every year, at ſpring and autumn, or oftener, if any great emergency required it, a general aſſembly was to be held, in which every matter of legiſlation and national concern was determined by a plurality of voices. This aſſembly conſiſted of deputies from the reſpective cities, choſen by plurality of voices. The magiſtrates, in whoſe hands the ſupreme executive power was lodged, were ſtyled Generals [17] of the States of Achaia; and to them the military department, and the right of preſidency in the national aſſembly, belonged. Theſe generals originally were two; but, the Achaeans finding the inconveniencies which in many caſes attended a divided authority, reduced them to one. Aſſiſtant to the general were the demiurgi, or council of ten, whoſe office it was to adviſe with the general, and probably to ſtand as a barrier between him and the people, ſhould he attempt to act in an arbitrary manner [18]. It was their province alſo to examine all matters intended to be laid before the popular aſſembly; and to propoſe them, if they appeared conducive to the public happineſs; otherwiſe to reject them. Polybius mentions another officer, the ſcribe of Achaia; whoſe department ſeems to have been chiefly of a civil nature; perhaps not unlike that of the Greffier of Holland, and to him, perhaps, were the archives of

national aſſembly.

General of Achaia;

demiurgi;

ſcribe;

[17] Στρατηγοι. — See Polyb. L. ii. c. 42 & paſſim.

[18] Δημιουργοι — See Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xlvii. p. 1200. — The title Demiurgi ſeems to imply Agents of the people.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

the nation, and the preparing and expediting of all public inſtruments intruſted.

how elected.

Theſe ſtate-officers were not only elected annually, but it was alſo rule, eſpecially in later times of the republic, not to re-elect the ſame perſon two years ſucceſſively, unleſs ſome very important conſideration made an exception neceſſary or prudent. It appears probable, likewiſe, from Polybius, that, by the original conſtitution, theſe great magiſtrates were to be choſen out of the different towns of Achaia by rotation; though there is reaſon to believe, that this regulation was not always obſerved. Beſides theſe ſuperior magiſtrates, every town had alſo its municipal magiſtracy; and it is not unlikely, as ſome have conjectured, that theſe municipal eſtabliſhments throughout Achaia were counterparts of the national polity; conſiſting, in the ſame manner, of a popular aſſembly, a council, and a preſiding magiſtrate.

Obſcurity of the Achaean ſtates for ſome ages:

What their laws were, we know but imperfectly; owing probably to the obſcurity in which they lived, during the earlier ages of Achaia; ſecluded in a remote corner from the other Greek nations, with whom, from the principles of their conſtitution, they could not cultivate a cloſe connexion, and, from their poverty and ſimplicity of life, had ſcarcely any intercourſe. The country of Achaia, beſides, rugged, barren, and without the elegancies to be met with in other parts of Greece, had nothing to attract the curious traveller; and, although ſituated along the ſea-coaſt, it derived from thence but little advantage; the rocks, with which its

coaſt were begirt, rendering the approach exceedingly dangerous.

So far from taking part, therefore, in thoſe achievements of the great commonwealths of Greece, which are now the ornament of ancient ſtory, the firſt battle in which they engaged in behalf of the Grecian liberties, was that of Chaeronea. And when the Greeks marched to Thermopylae, to oppoſe the Gauls, the Achaeans, anxious merely for their little territory, contented themſelves with aſſiſting to block up the paſs of the iſthmus; the Achaeans of Patrae alone [19] paſſing over to the aid of the Aetolians, to oppoſe the detachment from the army of Brennus, which, as we have ſeen, broke into Aetolia, and ſacked Callion.

The few laws, however, which have reached us, ſtand as monuments of their wiſdom.

The moſt remarkable of their laws.

"No individual, nor town, belonging to the "Achaean body, were to accept of any gratification "whatſoever, in their public or private capacity, "from prince or people, under the penalty of being "cut off from the commonwealth of Achaia [20]."

"No member of the Achaean league was to ſend "any embaſſy to, or contract alliance or friendſhip "with, any prince or people, without the privity "and approbation of the whole Achaean confe-"deracy [21]." — This law ſeems to have been the corner-ſtone of the Achaean fabric; and all the members were bound of the obſervation of it.

[19] Pauſan. in Phocicis.
[20] Polyb. Excerpt Legat. xli. p. 1181.
[21] Polyb. L. iv. c. 9.

"The admiſſion of any prince, ſtate, or city, "into the Achaean confederacy, was not to have "place, unleſs all the members of the confederacy "had conſented there to [22]."

"An extraordinary convention of the national "aſſembly was not be granted at the requeſt of the "ambaſſador of any foreign potentate, unleſs the "matters to be offered to ſuch aſſembly were firſt "delivered to the general of Achaia and the council "of ten, in writing, and pronounced by them to "be of ſufficient importance [23]."

"The deliberations of every aſſembly were to be "confined altogether to the matter, on account of "which the aſſembly had been convened [24]."

"In all debates, thoſe who had ſpoken, were to "deliver a ſhort draught of the arguments they had "employed, in order to be conſidered the enſuing "day; and within the third day, at fartheſt, was "the buſineſs in queſtion to be finally determined: "no debate being permitted to continue beyond "three days [25].

But, whatever their ſyſtem of laws may have been, of which a very incomplete idea is now to be had, it is certain, that the equity and humane ſpirit of their civil conſtitution, ſupported by their ſimplicity of manners and unblemiſhed faith, made them at length ſo much the admiration of the adjoining

[22] Polyb. ubi ſup. & paſſim.

[23] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xli. p. 1185. & xlvii. 1200.

[24] Polyb. ubi ſup.

[25] Liv. L. xxxii. c. 23. — See alſo Ubbo. Vet. Graec. tom. iii. p. 274 & ſeq.

nations,

nations, that to their arbitration the proudeſt of their neighbours referred their differences. The Thebans and the Spartans, after the battle of Leuctra, as Polybius [26] informs us, ſubmitted to their deciſion all matters in diſpute between them; and even the Greek cities of Italy, when, haraſſed with repeated inſurrections, occaſioned by the overthrowing of the Pythagorean ſchools, they were in danger of a total diſſolution of government, applied to them for advice, in what manner to amend their political eſtabliſhments; and found effectual relief, by adopting the plan which they preſcribed.

In the meridian of the power of Antipater, and the Macedonian princes that ſucceeded him, the Achaeans had their full ſhare of the deſpotiſm, which afflicted Greece during that wretched period: the ſhadow of their commonwealth hardly remained; moſt of their members, at the inſtigation of Macedonian agents, having deſerted the national league, and fallen under the dominion of various tyrants.

But the diſtracted ſtate of Macedon under Lyſimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus proving favorable to the Achaeans, ſome of their towns improved the opportunity, and reſtored again the ancient form of government. Patrae and Dymé led the way; and they were immediately joined by Tritaea and Pharae. The reſt, who ſtill continued under the yoke of tyranny, followed by degrees the example; ſome by perſuaſion, and ſome by compulſion, prevail-

[26] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 39. p. 175, 176.

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

ing with their tyrants to abdicate their uſurped government [27].

Such, during more than twenty years of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, was the ſituation of the Achaeans; recovering ſlowly from the ſhock they had lately ſuſtained. Their towns were ſmall and ill-peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and

[27] It appears from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) that the Achaeans had erected a pillar (no unuſual memorial in ancient days) on which were inſcribed the names of the ſeveral cities, which had from time to time been incorporated into the republic of Achaia; the names of thoſe four cities, Patrae, Dymé, Tritaea, and Pharae, which had been the original inſtitutors; or rather re-eſtabliſhers, of the Achaean confederacy, excepted. This honor, of being conſidered as the founders of the ſtate, was the only *peculiar honor* theſe four cities enjoyed. It being a conſtitutional maxim with this illuſtrious commonwealth, that whatever city, ſtate, or people, were adopted into it, became, immediately upon their admiſſion, inveſted with all the rights and privileges which the other more ancient members of this republic enjoyed, without the leaſt mark of inferiority or dependence. And to this generous ſpirit of equality, and humanity of its inſtitutions, ἰσότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, Polybius (L. ii. c. 38.) aſcribes that compact union and ſtability, which gave to the Achaean form the advantage over all the other republican eſtabliſhments throughout this part of Greece, even, according to that hiſtorian, over the Spartan itſelf.

The reſtoration of the aſſociation of the Achaean cities took place in the 124th Olympiad, the ſame year in which Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, were ſlain, and Pyrrhus of Epire paſſed into Italy to the aid of the Tarentines. The embarraſſed ſtate of Macedon, and the adjacent countries, during this period, together with the foreign wars Pyrrhus was employed in, gave to theſe Peloponneſians the opportunity of recovering their liberties.

their coasts harbourless and impracticable. So circumstanced, they seemed to wish for nothing more than to be permitted to enjoy an humble independence; when Aratus appeared [28], who was to give the highest finishing to this seemingly-inconsiderable republic.

Aratus appears;

This extraordinary personage was by birth of Sicyon. And the first sentiments, of which his mind seems to have been susceptible, were an enthusiastic love of liberty, and an invincible abhorrence of tyrants. The earliest ideas he had received led to the forming of these impressions; and every circumstance, as he grew up, contributed to strengthen them. His father Clinias, who held a distinguished rank among the Sicyonians, had been murdered by Abantidas, tyrant of Sicyon; most of the Grecian cities being then under tyrannical dependents of the Macedonian king. The spirit of freedom which marked the character of Clinias, had rendered him obnoxious; and the tyrant, who resolved the destruction of his whole family, had ordered, that Aratus, then but seven years old, should be murdered also. But whilst the tyrant's instruments were employed in the assassination of his father, he escaped unobserved amidst the confusion occasioned by the bloody business; and, not knowing where to find an asylum, strayed by chance into the house of Soso, sister to Abantidas. Amazed at seeing him, it struck her mind, that the gods themselves must have conducted him thither.

wonderful preservation;

[28] See Plutarch in Arato. Polyb. L. ii. c. 43. & passim. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

And her ſuperſtition did what her humanity would not have done. She looked upon herſelf as called upon by divine command to provide for the child's preſervation; and, having concealed him until night, ſhe ſent him off to Argos.

There his father's friends took care of Aratus: they educated him ſuitably to his birth; and he ſoon ſhowed that he was not unworthy of the attention beſtowed upon him. For he had not yet reached his twentieth year, when, fired with the thoughts of revenging his father's blood, and the wrongs of his country, he determined to return to Sicyon. Abantidas was no more. But, as in theſe days tyrant ſucceeded tyrant, Nicocles filled his place, and held the city in ſubjection. Alarmed at the accounts brought him of Aratus, his ſpies had directions to obſerve all his motions. Aratus, nevertheleſs, conducted his plans with all that ſubtilty of addreſs and intrigue for which his natural genius, improved by the circumſtances of his life, had ſo admirably fitted him: he eluded all the tyrant's machinations, and not only made himſelf maſter of Sicyon, but would have ſurpriſed Nicocles himſelf, had not his guilty fears previouſly ſuggeſted to him the precaution of preparing a ſubterranean paſſage againſt the hour of danger; through which he made his eſcape.

relieves his native city Sicyon from tyrants;

Sicyon was now reſtored to her liberties; but ſhe was nevertheleſs ſtill encompaſſed with enemies. The ſurpriſe of Corinth by Antigonus, which had lately taken place, ſhowed Aratus what he had to fear from that quarter. Various kinds of tyranny

ſtrengthens himſelf againſt the creatures of the late tyrants,

prevailed at the ſame time in moſt of the neighbouring cities. And even in Sicyon the creatures of the late tyrants, either from corrupt views or a conſciouſneſs of guilt, were ſtill unfriendly to the cauſe of liberty, and hated the aſſertor of it. Againſt theſe dangers Aratus ſaw no reſource more effectual than the friendſhip of the Achaeans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and, though yet of ſmall account, were the only people of Peloponneſus, in whoſe breaſts the ſpirit of freedom glowed. To incorporate the Sicyonians with this republic, was his great object. Achaia and Sicyon entered into his views; they embraced with eagerneſs the propoſal: and the Sicyonians were admitted accordingly into the Achaean body.

and aſſociates Sicyon to Achaia.

Something was yet wanting to the peace of Sicyon. Five hundred and eighty of it's citizens had been driven into exile during the late diſaſtrous times, and, though recalled to their native home, they had ſtill to encounter all the diſtreſſes of indigence; their landed property having, in a courſe of years, paſſed through different hands; and many of thoſe, in whoſe poſſeſſion it then was, holding it by legal titles.

Confuſed ſtate of property at Sicyon,

How to relieve this numerous body of claimants, ſo juſtly the objects of public compaſſion, was difficult A general act of reſumption had been an act of cruelty, injuſtice, and violence; and, if attempted might have brought on commotions not to be eaſily pacified. Aratus, ever ardently anxious for the general good, determined to apply for aid to his friend Ptolemy Philadelphus; that prince, who was

ſettled by the wiſdom

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

an admirer of the fine arts, having often employed Aratus to collect for him the paintings of the great maſters of Greece, in which Sicyon is ſaid to have abounded; the Sicyonian ſchool having been in the higheſt repute for ſeveral ages. That he might plead his cauſe the more forcibly, Aratus ſet off in perſon for the Egyptian court. Ptolemy generouſly complied with Aratus's requeſt, and furniſhed him with ſums of money ſufficient for his purpoſe. In the adminiſtration of which truſt he proceeded with ſuch wiſdom, and ſtrict obſervance of equity, that the old proprietors, and the new poſſeſſors, were equally well ſatisfied with his conduct: a tranſaction which completed the ſettlement of Sicyon, and gave to Aratus a ſtronger intereſt than ever in the affections of his fellow-citizens.

and probity of Aratus.

The abilities and liberal ſpirit, which Aratus had ſhown on this occaſion, drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece. The Achaean ſtates in particular conſidered him as an important acquiſition, and advanced him to the higheſt honors their commonwealth had to beſtow. The enſuing year he was elected general of Achaia.

Aratus choſen general of Achaia;

Succeſs enlarged his views. The power of the Macedonian king in Peloponneſus was at this time exceedingly formidable; and his poſſeſſions were extenſive. The petty ſovereigns, at the ſame time, of the ſeveral cities were almoſt without exception his vaſſals: ſubſiſting by his protection, and ſubſervient to his commands. It was eaſy to perceive, that a prince thus circumſtanced, whoſe ſchemes were directed to give law to Greece, would not long

suffer Achaia to remain undisturbed. Aratus conceived the bold thought of overthrowing this dangerous plan of empire. Corinth, the key to the whole peninsula, was then held by Antigonus: and Aratus determined to try whether he could not effect the re-establishment of the Corinthian liberties, in the same manner he had re-established those of Sicyon. The opinion entertained of the natural strength of the Corinthian citadel; the confidence of the garrison; and the improbability of such an attack coming from so feeble a hand; contributed all to the success of Aratus. He made the attempt in the night; he scaled the walls by ladders, with only a hundred men, the rest being ordered to follow another way. He was already in the city, and had nearly gained the ascent to the citadel, before he was discovered. His falling in accidentally with the guard, patrolling the streets, gave the first alarm to the Macedonians. They would then have resisted. But Aratus had disposed his different parties in so advantageous a manner, and was so seasonably supported by those who were to co-operate from without, that, when morning appeared, the garrison, defeated on all sides, were forced to abandon the place.

restores Corinth to her liberties;

The same generous temper of mind which he had shown in the delivering of Sicyon, marked also his conduct to the Corinthians. He caused them to assemble in the theatre; when, after addressing them in a manner suitable to the great event, he opened to them the motives by which he had been influenced: "his zeal for the independence of his

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

"country, and the hopes he had entertained of forming an effectual barrier againſt the Macedonian king, the ſworn enemy of the Grecian liberties;" he concluded by preſenting them with the keys of their citadel, of which they had not been in poſſeſſion ſince the days of Philip of Macedon; and invited them, at the ſame time, to accede to the Achaean league, as the beſt meaſure for ſecuring what they had now recovered. They anſwered him with loud acclamations of joy, hailing him their deliverer, and expreſſing their grateful acceptance of the offer he had made. So that Aratus not only had the praiſe of having given liberty to a people long humbled under the yoke of oppreſſion, but the glory alſo of having added conſiderably to the importance of the Achaean ſtates; who thus ſaw one of the moſt illuſtrious of the Grecian cities enrolled among them [29].

and incorporates the Corinthians among the Achaean ſtates:

This expulſion of the Macedonians from Corinth happened about eight years after the revolution at Sicyon; Aratus being then for the ſecond time general of Achaia.

One circumſtance in the conduct of Aratus, on this occaſion, deſerves to be particularly mentioned. In order to procure proper intelligence, it was expedient to bribe certain perſons, who had connexions in Corinth, for which purpoſe a conſiderable ſum of money was neceſſary [30]. Aratus knew the low ſtate of the Achaean finances, and he knew alſo how

his generoſity on this occaſion.

[29] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

[30] Sixty talents, according to Plutarch; (between eleven and twelve thouſand pounds).

much the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended upon ſecrecy; he would not therefore ſeek for reſources in the aſſiſtance of his friends, whoſe ſuſpicions or indiſcretion might have betrayed his purpoſe; but raiſed the money privately on his own account, pledging for it his plate and the jewels of his wife. Such, obſerves the hiſtorian [31], was the paſſion of this ſpirited Greek for gallant achievements, that he endeavoured not only to vie with Phocion and Epaminondas, who were accounted the moſt excellent of all the Greeks, in not ſacrificing virtue to money: he aſcended a ſtep higher: he parted privately with his own property, in the cauſe of thoſe who were not even apprized of his generous intentions: he embarked his eſtate in an enterpriſe, wherein he alone was to expoſe himſelf for his fellow-citizens: he purchaſed great danger at great expenſe: he hazarded his fortune and his life for the glory of advancing the proſperity of his country.

Other cities join the Achaeans.

This exploit, which, according to Plutarch, is one of the greateſt recorded in hiſtory, and the laſt, he thinks, which the Greeks have to boaſt of, led the way to important alterations. The people of Megara, though on the other ſide of the Corinthian iſthmus, renounced the alliance of Macedon, and joined the Achaeans. The cities of Troezene, Epidaurus, and Cleonae, on the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus, followed the example. The ſpirit of liberty caught even Lyſiades, the tyrant of Megalo-

[31] See Plutarch in Arato.

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

polis; who of his own accord abdicated the ſovereignty, and applied to be admitted into the Achaean league.

Amidſt theſe extraordinary revolutions died Antigonus Gonatas, about two years after his loſing Corinth, being ſucceeded, as we have ſeen, by his ſon Demetrius. Aratus continued his active exertions. He again attempted Athens, which he had formerly attacked in the days of Antigonus; and, though now a ſecond time repulſed by the Macedonians, whoſe ſtrength was conſiderable in thoſe parts, he was not diſcouraged. For when Demetrius invaded Aetolia, he immediately took the field, and joined the Aetolians, notwithſtanding thoſe people had lately broken into Achaia, and committed ſevere depredations. The conſequence of this junction was the defeat of Demetrius; who thereupon abandoned the war, and retired to his own kingdom. This was the laſt excurſion Demetrius ventured to make into the ſouthern parts of Greece, whether employed at home againſt the barbarian nations, who are ſaid to have infeſted his frontiers; or whether, as it is moſt likely, he was unwilling again to try the deciſion of arms with the Achaeans, who were now become exceedingly formidable. Aratus certainly appears to have been the enemy he dreaded moſt: for when tidings were brought to Macedon, that he had been taken priſoner in one of his inroads into Attica, he immediately diſpatched a veſſel to Athens, with orders that he ſhould be ſent to him in chains. And though he kept within his own kingdom, he ſpared neither treaſure nor

The alertneſs of Aratus;

intrigue to ſupport, as his father had done before, the petty tyrants of Peloponneſus, whoſe only merit was their enmity to Aratus.

General character of the Grecian tyrants of thoſe days;

The curious account hiſtory gives us of the tyrant of Argos, whoſe truſty friend Antigonus Gonatas had profeſſed himſelf, and whoſe character, as may be gathered both from Polybius and Plutarch, ſeems, in part at leaſt, to have been applicable to the ſeveral Peloponneſian tyrants of thoſe days, may ſerve to ſhow what wretched inſtruments the kings of Macedon had the meanneſs to employ.

particularly of Ariſtippus, tyrant of Argos.

"This tyrant (whoſe name was Ariſtippus) who "had Antigonus for his ally, who had a numerous "body-guard, and who had not ſuffered one man "in Argos to live, whom he thought his enemy, "would not permit his guards to do duty within "the palace, but only around it. When ſupper "was over, he diſmiſſed all his ſervants, making "faſt the door of the hall himſelf, and with his "miſtreſs aſcended by a trap-door into a ſmall "chamber above. Upon that door his bed was "placed, and there he ſlept, as a perſon in his "anxious ſtate may be ſuppoſed to ſleep. The "ladder by which he aſcended, his miſtreſs's mother "removed, and ſecured it in another room till "morning, when ſhe brought it again, and called "up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile "from his hole!"

"This manner of life," continues the hiſtorian, "was Ariſtippus under the neceſſity of leading; thus "it was he enjoyed that pomp of deſpotic ſove-

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

" reignty, which is generally ſo much envied and " admired as the pinnacle of human happineſs"."

The change, which now took place in the affairs of Macedon, opened an extenſive field to the enterpriſing genius of Aratus. Antigonus the ſecond, who, as we have ſeen, had aſcended the throne on the death of Demetrius, employed himſelf at home in remedying the many internal evils, to which the miſtaken counſels of Gonatas and his ſon had given riſe, and ſeemed to look on the tranſactions of the more remote ſtates of Greece with an eye of indifference. Relieved, therefore, from the obſtructions he had hitherto experienced, Aratus haſtened to improve the opportunity. He renewed the attempt on Athens, where there ſtill was a ſtrong garriſon; but it was diſcovered, that the governor, who had no longer the ſame attachment to the court of Macedon, was not incorruptible: and Aratus offered him his price. The ſum ſtipulated was a hundred and fifty talents (near thirty thouſand pounds) of which Aratus, who valued no expenſe, when the purchaſe was the liberties of his country, paid twenty himſelf. The forts were accordingly ſurrendered into the hands of the Athenians; and Athens was incorporated among the ſtates of Achaia.

Aratus purchaſes liberty to Athens,

There was ſomething peculiarly noble in the conduct of Aratus upon this occaſion. In one of the preceding attacks on the Macedonian garriſon at Athens, a report had prevailed, that he was ſlain. Immediately the Athenians, in ſervile adulation

though ill-treated by them:

[31] Plutarch in Arato.

to their Macedonian maſters, put on garlands of flowers, and broke out into the moſt illiberal expreſſions of joy: but Aratus was above reſenting the poor inſult. He left them to learn, from his example, what their ſentiments ought to have been.

and reſtores Argos to her liberties.

He then tried what could be done at Argos; which he had often attempted before, but without ſucceſs; ſo ſtrenuous, till then, had Macedon been in ſupporting the tyrants of that city: but Ariſtomachus, who now held the ſovereignty, finding that dependence could no longer be placed on aſſiſtance from Macedon, gladly accepted terms, and, having abdicated, was received into the Achaean confederacy.

Flourishing condition of Achaia at this period.

Intimidated by theſe examples, the petty tyrants around ſoon dropped all oppoſition. Hardly one of the adjoining ſtates remained inimical or independent: all entered either into alliance with the Achaeans, or fell under their ſubjection. The people of Phlius and Hermione, in the neighbourhood of Argos, and of Aegina in the Saronic gulph, declared in their favor; the greater part of Arcadia paid them contributions; the Aetolians as well as the Spartans were their allies; and the king of Egypt himſelf, the firſt in power of all the princes of thoſe days, accepted the title of protector of the liberties of Achaia. As an enemy to the Macedonian kings, he ſaw with pleaſure the Achaeans ſtrengthening themſelves againſt them; and he engaged to ſupport them in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights, ſhould his aſſiſtance at any time be neceſſary.

Probable conſequences to Greece, had

In this reſpectable ſituation were the Achaean affairs during the firſt years of the reign of the

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

Achaia continued to flourish.

ſecond Antigonus. And, could this noble fabric of liberty have retained that ſolidity and compactneſs, which it ſeems to have had at this period, Greece might probably have bidden defiance to the various enemies who ſucceſſively roſe up againſt her.

But, to theſe fair appearances a very different ſcene ſoon ſucceeded. Such being the inſtability of human councils, that thoſe, whoſe unanimity and virtuous ſpirit of freedom had framed this noble eſtabliſhment, became now the very perſons whoſe ſelfiſh ambition, jealouſies, and diſſenſions, wrought its overthrow.

A more important and inſtructive portion of hiſtory is not to be met with in the Grecian annals. It will be neceſſary to unfold the various events, which led to this cataſtrophe.

BOOK IV.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

The Aetolians — their character — jealous of Achaia — excite Cleomenes, king of Sparta, againſt the Achaeans — character of Cleomenes — his abilities and ſucceſs — the Achaeans diſtreſſed by Cleomenes — call in the aid of Antigonus king of Macedon — Antigonus marches againſt Cleomenes — defeats him — Cleomenes eſcapes to Egypt — Antigonus returns to Macedon — fights the barbarians — obtains a complete victory — dies — his character.

THE Aetolians were a people ſituated on the Ionian ſea, to the north-weſt of the iſthmus of Corinth, in that ſmall angle of country oppoſite to Achaia, and divided from it by the Corinthian gulph; bounded by Acarnania to the north, the Locri Ozolae to the eaſt, and ſtretching to the north-eaſt as far as the mountains of Theſſaly; their whole extent of territory being about fifty miles from north to ſouth, not above twenty miles from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places ſcarcely ten. Their ſtate, like that of Achaia, was compoſed of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other but induced to unite from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip the ſon of Amyntas. Their polity, in many reſpects, bore a near reſem-

The Aetolians; their ſituation; polity;

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

blance to that of the Achaeans. They had been from early times inured to arms, which were, indeed, the principal object of their attention. Their country, mostly mountainous, affording them but a scanty subsistence; so that they owed their chief support to the descents they made into the adjacent lands, where, sweeping away whatever plunder they could seize, they rushed back with impetuosity to their strong-holds and mountain-fastnesses; whose situation, scarcely accessible without a guide, baffled all pursuit. Suitable to this mode of life were their manners; warlike, fierce, impetuous, insolent. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they saw with indignation a people noway superior to themselves, whom they had often plundered with impunity, and whose establishment, laws, and situation, so nearly resembled their own, taking the lead both in council and in arms, and bearing off the prize of empire, which, in their own idea, they might themselves have so justly claimed [1]. They endeavoured to inspire the Spartans with similar thoughts; and the Spartans were but too ready to listen to their suggestions.

character;

jealous of the Achaeans;

excite the Spartans against them.

Cleomenes was now seated on the Spartan throne, whose misfortune it was, that even his virtues were to be fatal to his country. To an uncommon share of understanding, this extraordinary prince joined great integrity of heart, martial spirit, and an ardent love of glory. But, too eager in the pursuit of his

Cleomenes king of Sparta, his character.

[1] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 45, & L. ix. c. 32 & passim. Pausan. in Achaicis. Plutarch in Cleomene & Arato.

favorite

favorite object, his rapid mind often overlooked the inexpediency of the means he was to uſe; and he ſacrificed to ambition, the proſperity of a people whoſe happineſs he thought he was conſulting.

State of Sparta at this period;

The times, in which he lived, were very different from thoſe which the illuſtrious commonwealth of Lacedemon had once known: to that poverty and hardy diſcipline, which had formed the ſinews of her ſtrength, had ſucceeded exceſſive opulence, and an abandoned voluptuouſneſs of manners. Some even of their kings were not aſhamed to encourage the general profligacy by their edicts, as well as by their example. Areus, and his ſon Acrotatus [2], as if ſeeking to relieve their citizens from all reſtraints whatſoever, had diſcountenanced the public meals, that laſt pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance. Acrotatus lived, at the ſame time, in the face of his country, in open adultery with the wife of Cleonymus, his father's uncle: and when he had, in conſequence of this ſcandalous amour, involved his fellow-citizens with Pyrrhus of Epire [3], they gave a ſtrong proof of the degenerate tameneſs of Spartan manners; they puniſhed not the guilty cauſe of an unjuſt and unneceſſary war. One or two of the Spartan princes, it muſt be allowed, had, at different times, attempted to ſtem the torrent of public corruption; yet had the attempt always proved abortive; depoſition, baniſhment, and even death, having been the only recompence of their exalted virtue.

from what cauſes.

Agis king of Sparta,

[2] See Athenae. Deipnoſoph. Caſaub. L. iv. 71.

[3] See book iii. ſect. 2.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Such, when Cleomenes appeared, was the ſtate of Sparta; and he himſelf had been eye-witneſs of a very affecting inſtance of the depravity of his countrymen. His father Leonidas had reigned with Agis; Leonidas of the elder branch, Agis of the younger. Leonidas was ſon to that Cleonymus, whoſe wife Chelidonis Acrotatus had ſeduced; and, upon the death of the ſon of Acrotatus, had mounted the throne. Agis, who had ſucceeded his father Eudamidas, was the ſixth in deſcent from the famous Ageſilaus, and a near kinſman of that Agis, who fell in battle againſt Antipater, fighting for the liberties of his country.

his virtuous deſigns;

Agis[a], who was himſelf of unblemiſhed manners, and animated with a ſincere zeal for the proſperity of Sparta, ſaw with deep concern the breaches which avarice, luxury, and ambition, had made in the conſtitution of his country. The laws of Lycurgus were totally diſregarded; the lands were all in the poſſeſſion of a few families, who rioted in opulence; whilſt the reſt of the Spartans, deſpoiled of their patrimony, dragged on a wretched life in indigence and humiliation. To theſe diſtreſſes, this prince reſolved to apply the natural remedy, which the inſtitutions of Lycurgus preſcribed; and, in obedience to the original appointment of that great lawgiver, he determined to inforce the ſumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new diviſion of lands. This reſolution was the more ſingular, and worthy of praiſe, as he had been educated in the

diſintereſtedneſs;

[a] See Plutarch in Agide.

midſt of delicacy and affluence; whilſt the private eſtates of his own family were among the greateſt in Sparta. But, regardleſs of private intereſt, he purſued his plan; and, in the high fervor of youth (for he was aged but twenty years) warm in the cauſe of virtue, this generous prince thought he ſhould find little difficulty in accompliſhing a reformation, which was ſolicited by ſo many affecting conſiderations of juſtice and of national benefit.

attempts to reſtore the conſtitution;

He proved to be miſtaken. The greater number of the monied men and proprietors of lands, together with moſt of the Spartan ladies, who, by the new regulations, were to loſe all their wealth and articles of vanity, ſeeing their deareſt concerns in danger, oppoſed him vigorouſly. His colleague Leonidas, whilſt his father was a fugitive abroad, had ſpent ſeveral years at the court of Seleucus, where he was accuſtomed to Aſiatic luxury and magnificence; he had therefore no great eſteem for the Lycurgic life, and joined heartily in the oppoſition; which was beſides ſupported by the whole body of the Ephori, whom the faction of the rich had ſecured in their intereſts. For ſome time, however, Agis and his party prevailed. He had given the ſtrongeſt proof of his own integrity, by throwing all his landed property, with his whole perſonal fortune, amounting to ſix hundred talents, into the national ſtock. And, induced by this example, ſome of the firſt men in Sparta had acted in the ſame manner. The refractory Ephori had been depoſed; and Leonidas himſelf, who had perſiſted in rejecting every mode of reformation, having been impeached of certain violations of the

is oppoſed by the rich;

his colleague depoſed, and Cleombrotus appointed in his ſtead;

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

re-eſtabliſhes the laws of Lycurgus.

conſtitution, which rendered him incapable of reigning[5], had been diveſted of the regal dignity, and his ſon-in-law Cleombrotus, a prince of unqueſtionable worth, appointed in his room.

But this gleam of ſucceſs was of ſhort continuance. Some of thoſe, who had a principal ſhare in the councils of Agis, but ſtrangers to his probity, were guilty of intereſted, unjuſtifiable, and violent practices. By cancelling all bonds for debt, they got themſelves acquitted of what they owed; but, endeavouring then to evade the partition of lands, an inſurrection enſued; which the party in oppoſition taking advantage of, Leonidas was reſtored. He returned with all the reſentments of a tyrant, who had juſt recovered the power of which he had been deſpoiled; and he openly avowed his vindictive and ſanguinary purpoſes. The life of Cleombrotus was with difficulty ſpared, at the interceſſion of his wife Chelonis[6] the daughter of Leonidas, on condition

Oppoſite party prevail again.

Cleombrotus baniſhed.

[5] He had taken up his reſidence in foreign parts, before he came to the crown; and he had married a foreign wife.

[6] This amiable princeſs, though the daughter of a flagitious tyrant, appears to have been a pattern both of filial and of conjugal piety. The following account of her has been preſerved to us by Plutarch, and may be conſidered as a valuable monument of ancient manners. Leonidas having been depoſed, ſhe refuſed the rank to which the promotion of her huſband Cleombrotus had raiſed her, but, putting on mourning, accompanied her father into exile. Upon his reſtoration, and Cleombrotus's life being in danger, ſhe returned back to her huſband, and ſhared in his diſtreſſes; and at laſt was found by Leonidas, and his miniſters of violence, in the temple of Neptune, where Cleombrotus had taken ſanctuary, ſitting by him in the ſqualid habit of a ſuppliant, her arms folded around

of his going into baniſhment. But to Agis no mercy was to be ſhown. His popularity, his abilities, his virtues, pleaded too powerfully againſt him; and it was determined, that his fate ſhould deter future patriots from the like daring innovations.

him, with her two children, one on each ſide: When, addreſſing her father; "It was not for Cleombrotus", ſaid ſhe, "that this garb of woe was firſt put on by me; neither was it "for him that theſe tears firſt began to flow. My ſorrows had "their beginning with your misfortunes: nor from that time "have they ever ceaſed to be my portion. You are now victo-"rious over your enemies, and are again in poſſeſſion of the "throne of Sparta: muſt I never helots ſtill continue to wear "theſe weeds of affliction? or ſhall I array myſelf in feſtive "ornaments, when the huſband of my youth, the huſband you "gave to me, is doomed to be the victim of your vengeance?— "If, however, neither my tears, nor the tears of theſe little "innocents, have the power of moving you, more ſevere "will Cleombrotus's puniſhment be, than even you wiſh it— "he ſhall ſee his beloved wife die before him. For how ſhall I "endure to live, under the reproach of having had my ſup-"plications rejected both by my huſband and by my father? a "wretched wife! a wretched daughter! — Whatever plea "the unhappy Cleombrotus might have had to offer in his "juſtification, I have already in ſome meaſure deſtroyed the "force of it, by avowing your cauſe in prejudice to his. But, "indeed, you yourſelf, by this inexorable cruelty, plead his "apology; and ſhow how powerful a temptation a crown is, "when the blood of a ſon-in-law muſt be ſhed, and a daughter "abandoned, for the ſake of it." — So ſaying, ſhe leaned her face againſt her huſband's cheek, turning her dimmed and ſtreaming eyes on the crowd around her. Every heart melted. Even Leonidas was overcome: "Riſe," ſaid he to Cleombrotus, "and get thou into exile." — "And as for thee, "Chelonis," continued he, "repay to thy father the kind-"neſs he has ſhown in giving thee thy huſband's life, and

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Agis betrayed.

Overpowered by the triumphant faction, this unhappy prince had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Chalcioecos [7], from whence he never ventured, unleſs to the bath; and then was guarded by a band of friends, in whoſe firm attachment he had placed an entire confidence. But, ſeduced at length by the tempting offers of Leonidas, to whom the baſeſt means were honorable, theſe infamous friends conſented to become his betrayers, and perfidiouſly delivered him into the hands of Leonidas.

No ſooner was the perſon of Agis thus treacherouſly in the tyrant's power, than he convened a packed council of the Ephori, and of his moſt devoted partiſans. The ſhow of a judicial inquiry was reſolved upon; and this unfortunate prince was arraigned before a tribunal predetermined to deſtroy him. On this occaſion, however, he appears to have aſſumed a firmneſs not natural to him; his uſual manner being rather gentle and diffident. He beheld his pretended judges with indignation and ſcorn; and, when charged by them with a deſign of altering the government, he boldly declared that he had formed the reſolution from the fulleſt conviction of the

" remain with me." — Chelonis, notwithſtanding, would not be perſuaded. But, her huſband riſing from the ground, ſhe put one child in his arms, and took the other herſelf, and, after paying due homage at the altar, where they had taken ſanctuary, went with him into baniſhment.

[7] Minerva *of the brazen temple.* This temple, as appears from Pauſanias (in Laconicis) ſtood on an eminence the higheſt in Sparta, and ſeems to have been a kind of ſtrong hold. And thence probably the name πολιούχος, *guardian of the city*, which, he tells us, was given to this Minerva.

indiſpenſable obligations he was under, a reſolution, he told them, he never ſhould repent of, "to reſtore the laws of Lycurgus to their ancient "vigor, and to make thoſe laws the ſole rule of his "adminiſtration." Unable to humble him to any act of abjectneſs, they haſtened to relieve themſelves from the preſence of a man whoſe ſuperiority they could not but feel; they ordered him to be dragged away and ſtrangled. Yet did they find it difficult to get theſe orders obeyed; the common officers of juſtice, and even the mercenary ſoldiers, refuſing to be concerned in the execution of the unjuſt ſentence. At length Democharès, one of thoſe perfidious friends who had betrayed his maſter, laying hands on him, dragged him into the dungeon, where he was immediately executed.

and put to death.

To make the vengeance of the party more complete, his mother Ageſiſtrata, and grandmother Archidamia, were alſo involved in the ſame deſtruction, with aggravated circumſtances of uncommon barbarity. Theſe ladies were held in the higheſt veneration in Sparta, not merely on account of their rank, but for their amiable manners and irreproachable lives. Upon hearing of the detention of Agis, they had hurried away to the priſon, in order to employ their interceſſions in his favor; when Amphares, another of the perfidious friends of this unfortunate prince, coming out, aſſured them that Agis was ſafe, and invited them to go in and ſatisfy themſelves of his ſituation. He accordingly introduced them into the dreadful place, where lay the lifeleſs corſe of the unhappy Agis;

Cruel fate of his mother and grandmother.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

when, after enjoying their diſtreſs at this ſight of horror, the inhuman villain ordered them to be ſeized and ſtrangled.

If any thing could be wanting to excite in us the ſtrongeſt deteſtation of ſo extraordinary a wretch, there is a circumſtance of ſtill greater ingratitude, mentioned by Plutarch [8]. Amphares had been much indebted to the generoſity of Ageſiſtrata, who, being poſſeſſed of great wealth, had often bountifully aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs; and the expectation of being acquitted of what he owed to her, Plutarch thinks, with good reaſon, was one of the motives that urged him to the perpetration of the horrid deed.

The effect of theſe events on the mind of Cleomenes:

Cleomenes was very young when theſe things happened, and had but an imperfect knowledge of this affecting ſtory; for a time, therefore, he had attended to it but ſlightly; it ſoon, however, made a very different impreſſion upon him [9]. Compelled by his father's orders, he had married Agiatis, who had already been wedded to Archidamus, Agis's brother, now a proſcribed exile. She was conſiderably older than Cleomenes; and being beſides, as may naturally be conceived, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt Leonidas and all his race, ſhe had yielded to this ſecond marriage with great reluctance. But the rich inheritance, to which ſhe was entitled (for ſhe was the only child of one of the wealthieſt men in Sparta) had tempted Leonidas; and his commands were not to be diſobeyed. By degrees, the inge-

[8] In Agide.

[9] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

nuous diſpoſition and generous deportment of the young prince, and, on her part, the moſt amiable ſweetneſs of temper and elegance of mind, reconciled end endeared them to each other; a confidence, which knew no reſerve, grew up between them. He often found her bathed in tears at the recollection of Agis and his fortunes; and, anxious to know the cauſe, would liſten eagerly to the tale of woe; inquiring minutely, what were the manners of Agis; what his motives; his plan; in what manner he had been betrayed; and how he had fallen. At the melancholy recital of theſe particulars, he was wont to mix his tears with hers, admiring the public ſpirit and exalted purpoſes of that excellent prince, and wiſhing he could have the glory to reſemble him. With theſe ſentiments, which he carefully diſguiſed whilſt his father lived, had Cleomenes aſcended the throne.

feels for the diſtreſſes of his country:

At his acceſſion, he found not only the internal conſtitution of Sparta, but the whole ſyſtem of Spartan affairs, in a ruinous and perplexed condition. The domeſtic diſtreſs in which the diſuſe of the laws of Lycurgus had involved moſt of the Spartan families, with that deſpondent imbecility of ſpirit, which generally accompanies ſuch diſtreſs, had cauſed a general depopulation throughout Laconia; ſo that, inſtead of natives ſufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thouſand ſhares, into which Lycurgus had originally divided the lands, only ſeven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; of whom about ſix hundred, far from being capable of exerting any degree of vigor in the public ſervice,

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

were pining in abject penury, wretchedneſs, and contempt. Even the ſlaves, who formerly ſwarmed over all the country, were now conſiderably thinned in their numbers; many of them, as the Spartan families had gone to decay, having neither employment nor ſubſiſtence, had periſhed; and many others had been carried off by plunderers; the Aetolians alone having, in one inroad [10], ſwept off above fifty thouſand of them. At the ſame time, all Peloponneſus, as well as a great part of the reſt of Greece, confeſſed the power of Achaia; and the little importance which ſtill remained to Sparta, ſhe ſeemed now chiefly to owe to the alliance ſhe enjoyed with that formidable republic.

Cleomenes felt all the embarraſſments of his ſituation. Feeble at home, his meaſures were controlled by the inſolence of the Ephori and the faction of the rich: whilſt, deſpiſed abroad, he had to endure, with humiliating indignation, the haughty pretenſions of the Achaean ſtates, and the dictatorial mandates of the high-ſpirited Aratus.

attempts to revive the martial ſpirit of the Spartans;

In this choice of difficulties, it was hard to ſay which of them he ſhould begin to contend with. His natural turn to martial enterpriſe determined him: and it is not improbable, that the repreſentations of the Aetolians, of which we have already made mention, had a large ſhare in this determination. It appears from Polybius [11], that they had been exceedingly earneſt to inſpire the Spartan king

[10] Plutarch in Cleomene.

[11] L. ii. c. 45, 46.

with a jealouſy of Achaia. They had even engaged, if we may believe that hiſtorian, to ſerve Sparta at the expenſe of their own honor; and, whilſt they kept up the appearance of acting in concert with the Achaean confederacy, to favor the progreſs of the Spartan arms.

with what views;

This was, at the ſame time, the only plauſible meaſure he could embrace to rouſe the Spartans themſelves; for, immerſed as they were in corruption, the glory of the Spartan name was ſtill with them a favorite theme; and they were always diſpoſed to think well of the prince who attempted to retrieve it. At the head alſo of an army, he would be more powerful; and, if he returned with victory, he might then aſſume the ſame dominion over the factious Ephori, which at preſent they exerciſed over him; and find, in conſequence, a ſeaſon for the reſtoration of thoſe laws, of which he now durſt not even ſeem to think.

Such, as far as a judgment can be formed, at this diſtance of time, from the accounts of different hiſtorians, appear to have been the views of Cleomenes. The tenor of his conduct will beſt explain them.

his ſucceſs;

His firſt attempt was on ſome cities of Arcadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, of which he made himſelf maſter. From Polybius [12] we learn, that on this occaſion he employed the arts of intrigue rather than force; and that the Aetolians, in whoſe charge thoſe cities appear to have been, were ſuppoſed to have betrayed them into his hands. There

[12] L. ii. c. 46.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

is alſo reaſon to believe, that he engaged in this enterpriſe at his own riſque, and without the authority of the magiſtracy of Sparta. His view, unqueſtionably, was to ſpirit them up, if poſſible to a war: and his deſign ſucceeded accordingly.

is ſupported by the Ephori:

Encouraged by theſe favorable beginnings, the Ephori ordered him to ſeize and fortify a certain caſtle in the diſtrict of Megalopolis, which commanded on that ſide the entrance into Laconia; hiſtorians call it Athenaeum. It muſt have been a paſs of conſiderable importance, as the Achaean ſtates, though hitherto paſſive, immediately upon this act of hoſtility declared war againſt the Spartans. This was the very meaſure Cleomenes wiſhed for: he forthwith took the field with what troops he could muſter, and began to commit great ravages throughout the territories of the cities in league with Achaia. But his whole force amounted only to five thouſand men, and the Achaeans were marching againſt him with upwards of twenty thouſand. He advanced, nevertheleſs, in order of battle, and with

the Achaeans retreat before him;

ſuch appearance of reſolution, that the enemy declined the engagement, and retired. So ſhameful a retreat, before ſuch a handful of men, was nearly as prejudicial to the Achaeans as a diſcomfiture could have been, and raiſed exceedingly the reputation of the Spartan king. The blame of this daſtardly conduct fell on Aratus, as he had, it ſeems, adviſed it. The truth was, Aratus, though in council the firſt man in Greece, of great capacity and boldneſs in the direction of affairs, and poſſeſſing an uncommon genius for intrigue and deciſive meaſures,

was generally loſt to himſelf in the time of action; a certain conſtitutional defect prevailing then over that admirable judgment and preſence of mind which he poſſeſſed in the cabinet [13]. His life affords ſeveral remarkable inſtances of this frailty.

The behaviour of the Achaean chief gave new vigor to Cleomenes: his numbers increaſed; and the Eleans, who had never been ſteady in the intereſts of Achaia, now openly declared againſt her. To chaſtiſe this defection (for ſuch the Achaeans ſeem to have thought it) they made a rapid movement towards Elis; and were followed with the ſame expedition by Cleomenes, who came up with them at Lycaeum, near the Elean borders; and, as they were endeavouring to retreat; put them entirely to the rout, killing great numbers, and taking many priſoners. But, by a ſtrange reverſe, whilſt the Spartans were exulting in their victory, Aratus, who watched the opportunity, having rallied ſome of his troops, ſtruck off into the road to Mantinea, and made himſelf amends by ſurpriſing that city [14].

brings the Achaeans to an engagement;

defeats them;

loſes Mantinea:

This loſs, ſeemingly of no great moment, but probably aggravated by the enemies of Cleomenes, was conſidered at Sparta as overbalancing all the

reſentment of the Spartan Ephoris

[13] See Plutarch in Arato.

[14] The Mantineans, who at firſt belonged to the Achaean confederacy, having renounced their alliance, had ſurrendered their city firſt to the Aetolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes. This ſurpriſe of Mantinea by Aratus happened, according to Polybius, four years before the invaſion of Peloponneſus by Antigonus. See Polyb. Caſ. Oct. L. ii. c. 57. p. 198.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

advantages which might be derived from the late ſucceſsful action; and ſo alarmed did the Ephori pretend to be, that Cleomenes was inſtantly recalled home, and all deſign of continuing the war laid aſide.

prevails on them to continue the war;

This check, if not obviated, muſt have been to Cleomenes the final ruin of all his projects; but he employed every expedient in his power to prevent the conſequences he ſo much dreaded. He had recourſe to ſupplications: he had recourſe to corruption; and at length, by intereſting their avarice, he obtained of the Ephori, that he ſhould be permitted to continue his operations. From what followed ſoon after, it is likely, that the haughtineſs he experienced on this occaſion from theſe imperious controllers of kings, fixed him in the reſolution of freeing himſelf effectually from ſo mortifying a reſtraint.

overthrows the Achaeans near Leuctra.

The enſuing campaign was ſignalized by the total overthrow of the Achaean army near Leuctra. Cleomenes had marched thither in the view of ſurpriſing the town; and, the Achaeans having haſtened to its relief, attacked him under the walls. For ſome time the battle was in favor of the Achaeans, who puſhed the Lacedemonians vigorouſly on every ſide. But Cleomenes, having with great art drawn the enemy into ſome woody incloſures and hollow grounds, turned the fortune of the day, and defeated them with much ſlaughter; Lyſiades, then general of Achaia, and formerly tyrant of Megalopolis, after having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, being numbered among the ſlain.

Aratus blamed

This misfortune was imputed to Aratus. He was

charged with having neglected to ſupport Lyſiades[15]; and ſo exaſperated were the Achaeans, that in their next general aſſembly they declared him unworthy of national confidence, forbidding him either to levy troops in their name, or to interfere with their finances; leaving it to him to carry on the war, if he thought proper, at his own expenſe.

for this overthrow, and diſgraced.

This victory of Cleomenes was ſucceeded by the general devaſtation of Arcadia, and the reduction of ſeveral towns; for no ſooner was one enterpriſe atchieved, than the Spartans attempted another; Cleomenes not allowing his army the leaſt interval of repoſe[16]. In this he had his own private views. Haraſſed in the ſevereſt manner during the time they had been kept in the field, the Lacedemonians gladly accepted the offer of being left to garriſon the Arcadian towns during the winter-months. So that at the cloſe of the campaign, the king returned to Sparta with the mercenary troops alone. As he approached the city, he opened his intentions to Euryclidas and ſome choſen friends, to whom the Ephori were obnoxious. He contrived to reach Sparta in the evening, about the hour when the Ephori uſually aſſembled in the hall in which they ſupped. Euryclidas having accordingly entered with his aſſociates, upon pretence of a meſſage from the king, whilſt he was holding the Ephori in diſcourſe, the reſt ruſhed upon them, and buried their ſwords in their bodies; one only eſcaping, who having fallen

Cleomenes reduces ſeveral of the towns of Arcadia, and places Spartan garriſons in them;

returns to Sparta with the mercenaries only;

aſſaſſinates the Ephori;

[15] See Plutarch in Arato.

[16] Plutarch in Cleomene.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

pierced with wounds, lay in appearance dead; but recovering afterwards, he crept out, and was ſuffered to ſurvive.

What Cleomenes himſelf thought of this act of violence, we may eaſily gather from the uncommon pains he took to reconcile the Spartans to what had happened. He convened them together the enſuing day, and, after pleading warmly againſt the unconſtitutional eſtabliſhment of this order of magiſtrates [17], he went through an invidious recital of the ſeveral acts of iniquity the Ephori, collectively or individually, had been guilty of; which, whilſt they marked them as proper objects of public vengeance, led him to lament the unhappy neceſſity which compelled him to have recourſe to aſſaſſination, in order to deliver his country from theſe miniſters of oppreſſion [18].

ſeeks to palliate this act of violence;

The king might palliate the tranſaction; but it was impoſſible he could juſtify it. And probably the Spartans themſelves ſuſpected, what too often happens, that the overthrow of one ſpecies of deſpotiſm was only accompliſhed, with the view of raiſing on its ruins a deſpotiſm of another kind, not leſs formidable than what had been deſtroyed.

The Ephori being thus removed, he commanded the judicial ſeats, on which they ſat in the hall of juſtice, to be alſo taken away, one only excepted, to be left for the king, in whoſe hands, ſolely,

ſeizes on the

[17] This body had ſubſiſted, however, and become a part of the conſtitution, three hundred and fifty years before the time of Cleomenes.

[18] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

he

he told them, the diſpenſation of juſtice was thenceforth to be placed. He then proceeded to baniſh eighty of the Spartan citizens, friends of the late adminiſtration; and, ſo difficult is it to uſe power with moderation, he appointed, in violation of that very original conſtitution, which he pretended to reſtore, his own brother, Euclidas to be joint-king with him. Archidamus, the brother of Agis, had lived till lately an exile in Meſſenia, and had been recalled to Sparta, in order to take his ſeat on the throne belonging to his family; but on his way thither, he had been murdered. By whom he was recalled, whether by Cleomenes, or by the party againſt him; or to whom the guilt of his murder was to be imputed, are matters not well aſcertained. Some hiſtorians, indeed, have not ſcrupled to charge his death to the account of Cleomenes himſelf [19]; a ſuſpicion which will be thought, perhaps, not

adminiſtration;

[19] Polybius (L. v. c. 37. p. 533, 534. & L. viii. c. 1. p. 711.) ſays, that Archidamus had been reſtored to the Spartan throne, and that, after ſome time, ſuſpecting the ambitious views of Cleomenes, he had again fled from Sparta; but afterwards, through the mediation of Nicagoras, the intimate friend of Archidamus, Cleomenes prevailed on him to return; and that, as he was on his way to Sparta, upon Cleomenes's plighted faith, he was murdered by him; Cleomenes having gone to meet him, and (a circumſtance highly improbable) perpetrating with his own hand the bloody deed. And he aſſigns this as the reaſon why Cleomenes, when at the court of Ptolemy Philopater, was betrayed, (as we ſhall read in the hiſtory of Egyptian affairs, ſee b. x. ſect. 2. of this work) by this very Nicagoras. It was to revenge the death of Archidamus, of whoſe ruin he had, through the artifice of Cleomenes, been made the inſtrument.—

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

altogether void of probability, when it is remembered, that, beſides the danger of a revolution, ſhould his colleague diſapprove of the new mode of government he meant to introduce, there was another intereſt, not leſs powerful with Cleomenes: Agiatis was his wife, to whom Archidamus had a prior right.

re-eſtabliſhes the agrarian and ſumptuary laws of Lycurgus, and

His next care was the re-eſtabliſhment of the agrarian and ſumptuary laws of Sparta [20]. He had before this period revived in his own perſon and family, the ſtrictneſs of the Lycurgic diſcipline;

But Plutarch, leſs ready to credit every charge againſt Cleomenes, then ſeems to have been the caſe with Polybius, gives this ſtory a very different turn. Cleomenes, according to him, had reſolved, before he would proceed to any violence againſt the Ephori, to recal Archidamus, to whom the crown, in that branch of the royal family, belonged, in order to humble thoſe imperious magiſtrates; who, he imagined, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan conſtitution, was complete, and could maintain its due weight, would not be ſo formidable. The party which had put Agis to death, diſcovering this deſign, and dreading the vengeance of Archidamus, if he ſhould be reeſtabliſhed on the throne, formed their plan accordingly. They joined in inviting him to Sparta, and even aſſiſted in his return; but they aſſaſſinated him immediately after. Whether it was againſt the conſent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus, a contemporary hiſtorian, thinks, or whether his friends prevailed on him to abandon that unhappy prince, Plutarch does not take upon him to determine. If he gave his conſent, Plutarch, however, is of opinion, it muſt have been owing to the importunities of his friends; and the greateſt part of the blame, he aſſerts, is therefore to be charged to the account of thoſe friends, who had the guilt of teazing him into it.

[20] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

and his dreſs, his table, his furniture, his equipage, were all of the ſimpleſt kind. He was now the firſt to ſurrender his own eſtate into the public ſtock. His relations and friends followed his example. And the reſt of the citizens having alſo done the ſame, (for a refuſal was what no man at this juncture would preſume to attempt) the lands were immediately divided. He even aſſigned lots for each of the perſons whom he had baniſhed, declaring, that they ſhould be all recalled, when tranquillity was once more re-eſtabliſhed. And, to remedy the preſent depopulation, he filled up the number of citizens out of the moſt virtuous of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. He then gave his attention to the education of the youths, in order to train them according to the original ſeverity of the Lacedemonian laws. He reſtored their hardy manner of clothing, their ſchools of exerciſe, their public meals, and arranged their whole courſe of diſcipline upon the ſyſtem of ancient times. A new face of things ſoon appeared in Sparta; neither the drooping look of indigence, nor the ſcornful inſolence of wealth, were any longer to be ſeen; a people healthy and robuſt began again to crowd her ſtreets, and all the arts, that adminiſter to luxury and effeminacy, diſappeared. Above all, he took care to inſtruct his ſubjects by his own example; he appeared a pattern of temperance and of plain manners; he aſſumed no kind of parade or ſhow above a common citizen, but converſed among his people with unaffected familiarity; and, whenever they made application to him in his regal

enforces them by his own example.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

capacity, he received them with cheerfulneſs, and entered upon their buſineſs with the utmoſt readineſs and attention.

This was a noble reformation, and ſurely well deſerving of the higheſt praiſe, had it been effected by Cleomenes, not by bloodſhed and iniquity, but by the fair and conſtitutional road of law and general conſent! The perplexing circumſtances he was placed in, at the beginning of his reign, joined to the natural impetuoſity of his own temper, rendered perhaps more violent by the oppoſition he had to contend with, form all the apology, that hiſtory has to offer for him [21].

[21] Polybius, however, on moſt occaſions, treats Cleomenes's character with a ſeverity not to be juſtified. He even charges him (L. ii. c. 47. p. 185.) with *having diſſolved* τὸ πάτριον πολίτευμα, *the political conſtitution of his country*, and *having changed* τὴν ἔννομον βασιλείαν εἰς τυραννίδα, *the legal kingly power into a tyranny*. Yet Polybius himſelf acknowledges, in more places than one, that at his acceſſion the Spartan conſtitution was nearly deſtroyed, by the corrupt innovations which ambition and the luſt of power had introduced into it. To the praiſe of Cleomenes it certainly is, that he endeavoured to reſtore the original eſtabliſhments of the Lycurgic law. But, to his reproach, that he effected it by means to which he ought never to have had recourſe; by arbitrary oppreſſion and bloodſhed.—Polybius himſelf ſeems to account for his ſevere ſtrictures on this prince. He compiled this part of his hiſtory, he tells us (L. ii. c. 55. p. 196.) from the commentaries of Aratus, the avowed enemy of the Spartan king, and who doubtleſs ſought for a juſtification of his own unconſtitutional counſels by throwing what blame he could on Cleomenes. And that ſo judicious and generally candid a writer as Polybius, ſhould have been betrayed into this

Having thus rendered himſelf abſolute maſter of Sparta, policy as well as inclination urged him to give employment to that vigor, which he had now improved or created, and which, if not exerted abroad, might prove fatal to him at home. He [22] marched his Spartans into the territories of Megalopolis, which he plundered and laid waſte, none daring to oppoſe him; and, after ſome other exploits of this depredatory nature, he prepared

marches againſt the enemy;

lays waſte the territories of Megalopolis;

track, we ſhall not wonder, when we recal to mind, that he himſelf was of Megalopolis, that very city whoſe ruins were a monument of Cleomenes's violence. — As for Livy, he is the copier of Polybius, and therefore, in conformity with him, pronounces (L. xxxiv. c. 26.) Cleomenes to have been *the tyrant of Sparta*. — Plutarch has dealt more fairly by him; blaming his acts that deſerved cenſure; and, at the ſame time, doing juſtice to the noble and princely qualities of this extraordinary man. Plutarch therefore we have chiefly followed, without loſing ſight of the information that was to be found in other writers. — As to Pauſanias, his account of Cleomenes deſerves little regard. He tells us (in Corinthiacis) of Eurydamidas, a young prince on the throne jointly with him, whom he took off by poiſon, though neither Polybius nor Plutarch make mention of ſuch a king. And he would have us even believe, that the Lacedemonians held him in abhorrence; in expreſs contradiction to the teſtimony of the two laſt-mentioned hiſtorians, from whom it appears, that, notwithſtanding the unhappy iſſue of the wars he engaged in, and the calamities brought upon Sparta by their means, he was ſtill held in high veneration among them; ſo that, though a captive in Egypt, they refuſed, as long as he lived, to have any other king, in hopes of his reſtoration. See Polyb. L. iv. c. 35. & Plut. in Cleomene.

[22] Plutarch in Cleom. & Arato.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

to carry the war into the heart of Achaia. The Achaeans had formed a ſtrong encampment at Hecatomboeum, a place at ſome diſtance from Dymé, one of their frontier-towns near the Elean borders; in which ſituation they expected, in caſe the Spartans attempted this paſs, to incloſe them between Dymé and the Achaean camp, and render their eſcape difficult. Cleomenes was not to be deterred. He began by ravaging the other ſide of Achaia, which he had entered from the Arcadian frontier, and, advancing at length towards them, he attacked them on this very ground, where they had fortified themſelves with ſo much confidence, forced their lines, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. This was the ſevereſt blow the Achaeans had yet received. Their army had been compoſed of the flower of their nation; and they were almoſt all cut off. Their allies, beſides, were falling off. The Mantineans, before this period, after putting the Achaean garriſon in their city to the ſword, had called in the Spartans. And the ſame ſpirit was now ſaid to prevail in moſt of the other cities of Peloponneſus. In this emergency, they had not even Aratus to depend upon. Not knowing what meaſures to purſue, or whom to employ, they had applied to him, and again had offered him the command. But, either in reſentment of the diſgrace he lately experienced, as his friends would have it believed, or diſcouraged perhaps by the difficult poſture of affairs, he had declined to be employed.

forces the Achaean lines at Hecatomboeum and obtains a complete victory.

Achaeans are

The only reſource left them was to ſue to Cleome-

nes for conditions of peace. The king of Lacedemon required, that Sparta ſhould be reſtored to her former pre-eminence among the nations of Peloponneſus; that he himſelf ſhould be conſidered as the head of the Achaean confederacy; and be permitted to direct their councils and operations. To a people in dread of much harder terms, the demand ſeemed moderate. A congreſs was accordingly appointed to be held at Lerna in Arcadia, to which Cleomenes was invited. But, unhappily for Greece, a ſudden indiſpoſition obliged him to return to Sparta; and the final ſettlement of the various arrangements of the propoſed pacification was poſtponed until his recovery.

reduced to ſue for peace to Cleomenes.

Mean while, Aratus had found means to reſume his former influence in the Achaean councils. He looked upon the preſent eſtabliſhment of Achaia as the work of his wiſdom; and he could not bear to think, that the Spartans, whom he had been accuſtomed to number among the dependents of his republic, ſhould now take the lead, and preſcribe laws; or that the prize, for which he had been contending thirty-and-three years [23], the

Aratus reſumes his influence;

[23] Aratus was twenty years old when he delivered Sicyon. Eight years after, he reſtored alſo Corinth to her liberties, two years before the death of Antigonus Gonatas. He was therefore thirty years old at the time of Gonatas's death, which happened about the 4th year of the 133d Olympiad, 244 years before Chriſt. Demetrius, the ſucceſſor of Gonatas, reigned ten years. If therefore, at the time when the victorious arms of Cleomenes obliged the Achaeans to have recourſe to Macedon, thirty-three years had elapſed ſince Aratus firſt entered on the adminiſtration of affairs, it follows, that the

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

monument of his fame, and the recompence of all his cares, ſhould, in the decline of life, be wreſted from him by a young prince, whoſe name till now was hardly known. Agitated by theſe reflections, he employed himſelf in deviſing means to elude the intended meaſure. A ſecond congreſs had been appointed at Argos, and Cleomenes, with a reſpectable force, was on his way to that city. Aratus took this opportunity to execute his purpoſe. Under a ſhow of zeal for the public ſafety, he threw out ſurmiſes of the intentions of Cleomenes; he hinted to the Achaeans, how dangerous it might be to admit within the city a body of enemies led on by a young ambitious warrior; and at laſt prevailed on them to diſpatch an embaſſy to the Spartan king, requiring him not to come within the gates of Argos, unleſs he came alone; in which caſe three hundred hoſtages ſhould be given for the ſecurity of his perſon; or, if he did not approve of this expedient, he might advance, at the head of his army, to a certain ſpot without the walls, called the Cyllarabis, where the wreſtlers performed their exerciſes, and in that place they would treat with him.

Contrives to prevent a peace with Sparta.

To a prince naturally high-ſpirited, and at this period elated with victory, it might eaſily be foreſeen what an appearance of mockery ſuch a propoſal would carry with it. He treated both meſſage and meſſenger with the utmoſt diſdain; and, in

Cleomenes, affronted by the Achaeans, breaks off negotiating.

calling in of Antigonus muſt have been about the 2d or 3d year of the 139th Olympiad, or the 222d or 221ſt year before Chriſt; Aratus being then aged about fifty-three years.

a high and menacing tone, discovered his sense of the indignity offered to his character. It is said, that afterwards, when too late, Cleomenes discovered the part Aratus had acted on this occasion.

The artifice and ruinous measures of Aratus:

Thus, through the high spirit of one chief, and the duplicity of another, was the only measure which could have preserved Greece from bondage, irretrievably lost. Had Aratus, truly faithful to his country, placed his glory in her happiness, and been content with his counsels to assist operations, which now he had neither capacity nor courage to lead; or had Cleomenes, subduing resentment, condescended, on Aratus's own terms, to have entered Argos, where probably his demands, supported by his presence and persuasive powers, had found little opposition; they might have then prevented, what after that day there never was another opportunity of preventing; the ruin of their country. But the pride of Cleomenes, and the far more criminal pride and duplicity of Aratus, forbade it. And to that fatal pride Greece owed her destruction.

It is remarkable, that both Aratus and Cleomenes had the same scheme in view; both wished to unite all the nations of Peloponnesus into one commonwealth, and, by this means, to form such a bulwark for the defence of the common liberties of Greece, as might have bidden defiance to every foreign power. The only question was, to what people, and to what chief was the direction to be committed? Aratus was determined that he would have the glory of doing all, or that no other should

BOOK IV Sect. 2.

ſave or aggrandize his country; and, rather than ſuffer the adminiſtration to be in any hands but his own, reſolved to throw all things into confuſion. Unfortunately for mankind, there hardly has been a country, or an age, that has not had its Aratus!

the conſequences throughout Peloponneſus and the parts adjoining.

The breaking-off the treaty of pacification occaſioned a general ferment throughout all Peloponneſus. Cleomenes, fired at the indignity the Achaeans had offered, urged the war with more vigor than ever; he ravaged their territories, and he ſacked their towns. Even in thoſe places, which his arms had not yet reached, every thing threatened inſurrection and hoſtility to the Achaeans, either from the intrigues of the Spartan emiſſaries, or from the rankling ſuſpicions to which the conduct of Aratus had given birth. The Athenians, as well as the Aetolians, refuſed to aſſiſt Achaia. Ariſtomachus, formerly tyrant of the Argives, and now a member of the Achaean confederacy, betrayed Argos to the Spartan king. The Corinthians were on the point of delivering their city into his hands; and even Sicyon muſt have been loſt, had not a timely diſcovery prevented the conſpiracy from taking effect.

Aratus conceives the thought of calling in the Macedonians;

Theſe miſchiefs, nevertheleſs, with the guilt of which Aratus could not but charge himſelf, ſerved only to hurry him into counſels pregnant with circumſtances ſtill more fatal. Reſolved, at any riſque, to exclude Sparta from the ſuperintendency of Peloponneſian affairs, he fixed upon a meaſure the moſt pernicious, that any ſtateſman of Greece

could in these times have adopted [24]. The power then the most formidable to the Grecian liberties, was the kingdom of Macedon. Since the days of Philip, it had been the favorite object of its princes to bring Greece into subjection. The terror and devastation of war, the insidious arts of corruption and intrigue, whatever, indeed, could contribute to the breaking of that republican spirit, which animated her councils, had to this end been successfully employed. To these dangerous neighbours Aratus, as we have seen, had from his early years distinguished himself by his opposition, and to this noble opposition, which had rescued Greece from Macedonian usurpation, he owed all the glory of his life. But a total change of principles was now to take place. Rather than see Cleomenes at the head of Greece, he conceived the pernicious thought of making Antigonus of Macedon the instrument of Sparta's destruction. In order to accomplish this, he proposed to restore the Macedonians to the full possession of that power, from which he himself had driven them; and, from motives of envy and disappointed ambition, to invest its natural enemies with the sovereignty of his country.

difficulties in his way.

There lay, however, two powerful obstacles in his way. In Greece the attempt was unpopular; and Antigonus seemed regardless of ambitious projects. With this prince Aratus had not the least connexion, and he must have been considered by

[24] Polyb. L. ii. c. 47, & seq. Plutarch in Cleomen. & Arato.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

him as a perſon moſt hoſtile to the Macedonian intereſt. With his uſual addreſs, however, he ſurmounted both theſe difficulties.

his manner of ſurmounting them.

Megalopolis, of all the cities of Peloponneſus, lay the moſt expoſed to invaſions from Laconia; and there had anciently ſubſiſted a friendly intercourſe between the Megalopolitans and the Macedonians. Having gained over to his views two of the principal men of this city, he directed them to apply to the Achaean ſtates for protection againſt Sparta; and, ſhould they not be able to grant it, which Aratus well knew, they were not, to aſk permiſſion to implore the aid of Antigonus. The ſcheme ſucceeded as he had wiſhed, and his inſtruments were appointed to proceed to the Macedonian court. He then inſtructed them, to mention him favorably to the king; to be active in removing from his mind the prejudices he might have conceived againſt him; and to offer him whatever pledge he ſhould deſire of the devotion and future fealty of Aratus. They were particularly to repreſent to Antigonus, that his intereſts and thoſe of Achaia were the ſame; that the enterpriſing Cleomenes, when he had once ſubjected Greece, would ſoon make his way to the Macedonian frontiers; and that what Antigonus might now eaſily accompliſh in Peloponneſus, he might find difficult to effect within his own kingdom, if invaded by a prince made bold by ſucceſs, and made ſtrong by his victories, whoſe very name would invite to his banners all the ancient enemies of Macedon.

Antigonus

Hitherto, as we have already obſerved, Antigonus

had affected a total diſregard of Grecian affairs. The expelling even of the Macedonian garriſons from the Grecian towns, had not provoked him to interpoſe. And though often ſolicited by many of the ſtates of Greece, and lately by the Aetolians in particular, to take advantage of the preſent diſtractions, he had always, attentive to the proſperity of his own kingdom, ſteadily refuſed the invitation.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

adverſe from meddling with the affairs of Greece;

But now, to ſee the leader of Achaia his ſuppliant, and thoſe very Achaeans, by whom his predeceſſors had been expelled from Peloponneſus, voluntarily opening their gates to him; to be preſented with the opportunity of humbling that Sparta, which had held in ſcorn the mightieſt of Macedon's kings; to enjoy the proſpect of uniting Greece and Macedon into one ſovereignty, and of ſeeing himſelf maſter of what even Alexander could never boaſt; were temptations, which even the temperate mind of Antigonus could not withſtand.

but yields to the ſolicitations of the Achaeans:

He promiſed all that was deſired. Aratus, to give the more credit to the negotiation, had ſent his own ſon to Antigonus by way of hoſtage; who ſtipulated, on the part of Achaia—"That the citadel of Corinth ſhould be delivered into the king's hands——that he ſhould be at the head of the Achaean confederacy, ſuperintend their councils, and direct their operations—that money and proviſions ſhould be ſupplied at their expenſe, for the ſupport of his army——that neither embaſſy nor letter ſhould be ſent to any power, without his approbation——nor any city, ſtate, or people, be from that time admitted into the

extraordinary compact made by Aratus with Antigonus;

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Achaean league, without his expreſs conſent[25]." The two laſt ſtipulations were, in fact, bonds of allegiance to Antigonus. They had their foundation in the original confederacy of the Achaean ſtates; but were at this time new-modelled, to ſerve the purpoſe of the preſent negotiation; and in this form, the ſeveral members of the Achaean league were required to ſwear to the obſervation of them: which oath was to be adminiſtered every year. From theſe articles it is evident, that the Achaean biberties were now but a name. The lord of Achaia was Antigonus.

the duplicity of Aratus;

It is not, however, to be imagined, that Aratus ventured at once to avow every clauſe of this exceptionable compact. The whole tranſaction ſeems to have been the work of ſubtilty and dark diſguiſe. Even previous to the appointment of the ſecond congreſs at Argos, it appears from Plutarch, that he had entered privately into a negotiation with Antigonus; and probably moſt of the articles here mentioned were kept ſecret for a time, and diſcloſed gradually, as the nature of the caſe made it neceſſary, and as the power of Antigonus came to be more firmly eſtabliſhed[26].

[25] See Polyb. L. ii. & paſſim. Plutarch in Arato.

[26] Aratus, throughout this whole tranſaction, appears to have conducted himſelf with the greateſt ſubtilty. Though the ſcheme was his own, in public he affected to have many difficulties concerning its expediency, and to offer many ſpecious objections; which doubtleſs, at the ſame time, his creatures had inſtructions, and were prepared to anſwer. Even in Aratus's Commentaries, Polybius himſelf (L. ii. c. 47.) acknowledges, that ſeveral material circumſtances reſpecting this buſineſs were omitted by him, conſcious it was not to his honor that the world ſhould be apprized of them.

When the other Peloponnesian states, especially those who had lately felt the yoke of Macedon, found their suspicions turned to certainty, and that it was determined they should again be given up into the hands of their oppressors, they were exasperated to the utmost against Achaia. So violent, in particular, were the people at Corinth, that they rose against Aratus to put him to death; and with difficulty he escaped from the city. Their only hopes were now in Cleomenes, the last refuge of the Grecian liberties; who, unequal as he appeared to the dangers he had to encounter, seemed to draw fresh vigor from his difficulties. Upon the first advice of the Macedonians being in motion, he had entered the isthmus, and had taken possession of a pass[27] on the Onean mountains, which commanded the opening of the defile on the northern side; so that, whilst he continued in this position, it was impracticable for Antigonus to force his way, nor could he be joined by his friends from Peloponnesus; Aratus, who with the demiurgi had been deputed to wait on Antigonus, being obliged to cross the Corinthian gulph in order to get to the Macedonian camp[28]. But it was not possible that Cleomenes should provide for the safety of every place. The Achaeans found means to surprise Argos, with a design to cut off the communication of Cleomenes with Sparta. This laid the Spartan king under the necessity of returning back into Peloponnesus, and to leave the pass open for the Macedonians.

indignation of the Peloponnesian states at this transaction.

Cleomenes possesses himself of the Corinthian isthmus;

is forced to abandon it;

The pass open for the Macedonians.

[27] Polyb. L. ii. c. 52.

[28] Plutarch in Arato.

BOOK V. Sect 2.

Such a formidable body of auxiliaries, for the Macedonians amounted in numbers to near twenty-two thouſand men, ſoon enabled the Achaeans to reſume their ſuperiority in Peloponneſus. Corinth, with moſt of the other cities, which had declared for Sparta, ſurrendered to Antigonus; and in leſs than one campaign, Cleomenes had nothing but Laconia remaining. Amidſt this wreck of his public fortunes, he loſt the virtuous Agiatis, whoſe excellent ſenſe and tender affection had been his reſource in his ſevereſt exigencies. And, as if every comfort were to be withdrawn from him, Ptolemy Euergetes, then king of Egypt, to whom he had applied for ſuccours, refuſed to grant his requeſt, unleſs his mother and his children were ſent into Egypt as pledges of his fidelity. The perfidy which the Egyptian king had experienced from the Achaeans, in deſerting his alliance, and calling in Antigonus, had induced Ptolemy, a prince otherwiſe remarkably humane, to make this ungenerous requiſition; with which however, ſuch was the ſituation of his affairs, that Cleomenes was forced to comply[29].

moſt of the Peloponneſian cities ſurrender to Antigonus;

the diſtreſs of Cleomenes;

[29] The reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here, the account which Plutarch has preſerved to us, of the noble firmneſs of Crateſiclea, the mother of Cleomenes, on this affecting occaſion, when the neceſſity of affairs obliged this prince to ſend her and his children to Egypt. Having conducted them to Taenarus, where they were to take ſhipping, the hour of parting being come, his wonted fortitude forſook him; and the fierce warrior was ſeen to melt into the tender ſon and fond parent. Crateſiclea with concern marked his emotion; and, drawing him aſide into an adjoining temple, "King of Sparta," ſaid ſhe to him, claſping her aged arms

His

His ſpirit, nevertheleſs, remained ſtill unſubdued. Beſides what he had received from Egypt, he had contrived to raiſe at home a farther ſupply of men and money, by enfranchiſing ſuch of the Helotes as could pay a certain fine for their freedom, and by inliſting among his troops a great many more of thoſe that were fit for military ſervice. Thus recruited in ſtrength, he determined to ſtrike terror into the enemy. The city of Megalopolis has been already mentioned. It was one of the moſt conſiderable in Peloponneſus, and ſcarcely inferior even to Sparta; ſtately, populous, opulent, and from its ſituation, of great importance; commanding moſt parts of Arcadia, of which it was the chief city. It had been planned by the illuſtrious Epaminondas, as a ſtrong hold for the Arcadians, at that time ſcattered moſtly in defenceleſs villages, and to curb the power of Sparta. Cleomenes formed the deſign of ſurpriſing this city, though the Achaeans lay encamped on the one ſide, and the Macedonians on the other. With this view he deceived the enemy by a feint march, as if he had intended to fall on Argos; but he turned ſuddenly ſhort, and was in poſſeſſion of Megalopolis, before either Antigonus or Aratus ſuſpected his

he obtains a ſupply of men and money;

ſurpriſes Megalopolis.

around him, and preſſing him to her boſom, "take care that, "when we go hence, no one may perceive us weeping, or "behaving in any ſhape unworthy of the illuſtrious city that "gave us birth. *This alone* is in our power; the iſſue is in "the hands of God." This ſaid; compoſing her countenance, ſhe embarked, bearing her grandſon in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to ſea with all poſſible expedition. — *Plutarch in Cleomene.*

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

purpoſe. He had a particular view in forming this enterpriſe. The Megalopolitans were the ſanguine friends of Macedon, and he hoped, by the poſſeſſion of their city, to have it in his power to detach them from Antigonus; an object certainly of the higheſt moment to his affairs, could it have been effected. He accordingly ſent meſſengers after the inhabitants, moſt of whom had eſcaped by flight, and offered to reſtore the city, with all the ſpoil, entire and unhurt, on condition of their renouncing the friendſhip of the Macedonian king: but the Megalopolitans, at the inſtigation of Philopoemen, afterwards a diſtinguiſhed character in the Achaean hiſtory, having rejected the offer, Cleomenes was ſo tranſported with reſentment that he plundered the city, and cauſed it to be laid in ruins.

and lays it in ruins;

the affliction of Aratus and the Achaeans on this occaſion

This was a deep wound to the Achaean intereſt; and we may judge of its magnitude from what Plutarch relates. The general aſſembly of Achaia had met, and Aratus was preparing to harangue them, when he received the tidings. He mounted the ſuggeſtum; but, unable to ſpeak, he burſt into tears, covering his face with his robe. After ſome minutes of extreme agitation and diſtreſs, the whole aſſembly calling out to know what it was that thus moved him, with difficulty at length he uttered, "Megalopolis is deſtroyed be Cleomenes!" Conſternation inſtantly filled every breaſt; all public buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the convention broke up in ſilent amazement and horror.

Cleomenes attempts Argos,

Emboldened by this ſucceſs, Cleomenes, at the opening of the enſuing ſpring, appeared before Argos,

where Antigonus was encamped, and defied him to battle; but his challenge not being accepted, he ſpread devaſtation through all the country around. His purpoſe was, either to force the Macedonian king to the field, whilſt moſt of his troops were ſtill in their winter-cantonments, or to excite againſt him the indignation of the Argives. But neither his inſults nor their murmurs moved Antigonus. He ſaw clearly, that this predatory war, however ſucceſsful, muſt nevertheſeſs prove, in the end, of little ſervice to Cleomenes; whoſe army, conſiſting moſtly of mercenaries, were not to be kept together without regular pay, for which he had no fund to depend upon, but the precarious remittances from Egypt. Antigonus, on the contrary, rich in treaſure, ſaw the advantage he muſt derive from thence; and, by oppoſing Cleomenes at firſt, faintly, yet cautiouſly, he artfully adhered to a plan of operations, which, it was evident, muſt ſoon exhauſt his adverſary.

in order to bring on an engagement;

but is baffled;

Baffled in this manner by a ſubtile foe, and preſſed by his own difficulties, Cleomenes found himſelf obliged to retire again within Laconia. Beſides, the Macedonian and Peloponneſian forces now aſſembling, he began to fear that Sparta was their object, and he reſolved to cover it, if poſſible, from inſult. Near the town of Selaſia, the road leading to Sparta became exceedingly narrow, being confined between two hills, the Eva and the Olympus, both high and difficult of aſcent; and in the glen, that divided theſe hills, ran the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. This paſs Cleomenes undertook to defend. On one hill was ſtationed his

retreats to Selaſia, in order to cover Sparta;

intrenches himſelf

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

brother Fuclidas, with part of the army whilſt he himſelf took poſt on the other; the bottom of each hill, and the opening of the defile, being ſecured by a ditch and a ſtrong rampart.

with great skill;

Antigonus, who ſoon approached, beheld with admiration the poſition of the enemy. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural ſtrength of this important paſs, had been performed; and no part was to be ſeen on which an impreſſion could be made with effect. Though conſiderably ſuperior in point of numbers[30], he had too much wiſdom to hazard an attack upon men drawn up ſo advantageouſly; he encamped therefore at a diſtance on the plain below, in order to obſerve the motions of his enemy, and take his meaſures as circumſtances might offer. This deliberate caution and coolneſs of Antigonus, prepared the way for the ruin of Cleomenes, who had expected, that the Macedonians would immediately have advanced; all his hopes reſting on the ſpeedy deciſion of a battle. His ſupplies from Egypt had failed; yet he carefully concealed from his army the diſtreſſed ſtate of his finances, being well aſſured, that, ſhould it once be ſuſpected, his mercenaries would inſtantly crumble away, and leave him to the mercy of Antigonus. Any fortune ſeemed to him preferable; and rather than be reduced to a dilemma ſo humiliating, he determined to throw open his intrenchments, and, without farther delay, to riſque an engagement.

forced to hazard an engagement;

[30] He was thirty thouſand ſtrong, and the Spartans were but twenty thouſand.

The ſame admirable ſkill which he had exhibited in forming his encampment, he now ſhowed in the diſpoſition of his army; and he charged with ſuch vigor the Macedonians, who led on by Antigonus, had attacked the wing in which he fought, that for ſome time he compelled the phalanx to give ground, and had nearly wreſted the victory from them. But the injudicious management of Euclidas, according to Polybius [31], or according to others [32], the treachery of an officer in the Spartan army, corrupted by Antigonus, having cauſed the total diſcomfiture of the other wing, the confuſion ſoon involved the whole Spartan line; and Cleomenes, overpowered by numbers, moſt of his men having fallen, was forced at length to quit the field.

is defeated;

He fled to Sparta; informed the citizens of the diſaſtrous event; and adviſed them to ſubmit to Antigonus. "For my part," continued he, "I am "prepared either to live or to die, as the one or the "other may be moſt for the intereſt of my country." He then retired to his own houſe, were he refuſed every kind of refreſhment, not even ſuffering his armour to be taken off; but after having leaned his head for a few minutes againſt a pillar, he ſet off for Gythium, the principal ſtation of the Spartan fleets; and, with ſome choſen friends, going immediately on board, ſtretched away for Egypt [33].

flies to Sparta,

and from thence to Egypt:

[31] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 68.

[32] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

[33] A farther inſight into the character of this prince, may be had from a curious anecdote recorded of him when on his way to

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

His adventures in Ægypt belong rather to the hiſtory of that kingdom; at preſent it may be ſufficient to mention a few of the principal circumſtances.

adventures in that kingdom;

Ptolemy Euergetes, whoſe ally he had for ſome time been, received him honorably; and, when better acquainted with his character, held him in

Egypt. Therycion, one of the Spartans who attended him, borne down by his reverſe of fortune, propoſed to Cleomenes to kill himſelf, ſetting off the propoſal with that ſpecious coloring, which the imbecillity of an oppreſſed mind is apt to miſtake for argument. "Thinkeſt thou, wicked man," replied Cleomenes, "to ſhow thy fortitude by ruſhing upon death, "a refuge always eaſily to be had, and which every man has "open to him? That were a flight far more ſhameful than "even that to which we have now been compelled. Better "men than we are, have, either by the fortune of arms, or "overpowered by numbers, left the field of battle to their "enemies; but the man, who, to avoid pain and calamity, "or from a ſlaviſh regard to the praiſe or cenſures of men, "gives up the conteſt, is overcome by his own cowardice. If "we are to ſeek for death, that death ought to be in action, "not in the deſerting of action; for it argues baſeneſs to live or "to die to ourſelves. By adopting thy expedient, all that we "can gain is, to get rid of our preſent difficulties, without "either glory to ourſelves, or benefit to our country. In hopes, "then, that we ſhall ſome time or other be of ſervice to our "country, both thou and I, methinks, are bound to preſerve "life. Whenever theſe hopes ſhall have altogether abandoned "us, death, if ſought for, will readily be found." Plutarch in Cleomene.

Traits ſuch as theſe place a character in a ſtrong light. With ſuch ſentiments, it is difficult to ſuppoſe this prince to have been the unfeeling tyrant, which ſome authors have deſcribed.—At laſt, it is true, he fell by his own hand; but that was in the tranſport of deſpair. His cool judgment had condemned the raſh deed.

the higheſt eſteem; lamenting that he had not aſſiſted him more effectually, and promiſing to take the firſt opportunity of replacing him on the throne of his anceſtors. This probably he might have effected; but, dying ſoon afterwards, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Philopator; a prince totally the reverſe of what his father had been; immerſed in diſſoluteneſs; and governed altogether by an inſolent and rapacious miniſter. Cleomenes had too great a ſpirit to brook the indignities, which he experienced from this vicious court. Ptolemy's miniſters marked his reſentment, and, enraged that he ſhould dare to be diſpleaſed, they added inſult to injury, till, fired by his wrongs, this unhappy prince would have revenged them by open violence; but he periſhed in the wild attempt, after he had lived about three years in Egypt [34]. and fatal end.

Sparta, which till this period had never ſuffered the fate of a captive city, could not have fallen into the power of a more merciful conqueror. Antigonus [35], rather a protector than an enemy, would not permit the leaſt injury to be offered to any part of the city, or inhabitants, but contented himſelf with re-eſtabliſhing the juriſdiction of the Ephori, as it had been before the time of Cleomenes. He even ſhowed a tender regard for the intereſts of that unfortunate prince; for, obſerving that the Spartans, by whom he was affectionately remembered, could not bear the thought of another king whilſt he ſurvived, Generous treatment of the Spartans by Antigonus.

[34] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

[35] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. & L. v. c. 9.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

He is called home by an incurſion of barbarians,

Antigonus complied with their wiſhes, and left the throne open as he found it. He ſtaid in Sparta but three days, being recalled home by a ſudden emergency, which demanded his immediate preſence. So critical was the fate of Cleomenes. Had the latter deferred fighting for three days longer, Antigonus muſt have withdrawn his troops, and Cleomenes been relieved.

defeats the invaders;

It had been, as we have already obſerved, a favorite maxim with Antigonus, notwithſtanding he had of late been induced to depart from it, "that "foreign conqueſts were not to be obtained but at "the expenſe of the happineſs of his own kingdom." And it is remarkable, how fully the laſt ſcenes of his life verified his obſervation. Encouraged by his abſence, a multitude of Illyrians, and the barbarous nations adjoining, had made an inroad into Macedon, and committed dreadful devaſtation. And it was the account of this irruption that had haſtened the return of Antigonus into his own dominions. The barbarians, who had as yet found no force able to oppoſe them, heard of his approach undiſmayed; and even advanced to meet him, in full confidence of victory. The battle was deciſive againſt them: but it was alſo fatal to the Macedonians. The king, by the violent exertion of his voice during the engagement, burſt a blood-veſſel; and the large effuſion of blood, that followed, having thrown him into a languiſhing ſtate, he died [16] in a few days, univerſally lamented

burſts a blood-veſſel, and dies, lamented by all Greece.

[16] OLYMP. CXXXIX. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 220. See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

for his great military abilities, but much more for his exalted virtues, and the noble generoſity of ſoul by which he had been diſtinguiſhed [37]. Among many inſtances of his humane diſpoſition, the manner, in which he uſed his victories, is particularly recorded. For he ſeemed to forget, that the vanquiſhed had ever been his foes; his firſt care was, to ſoften their lot, and, as far as conſiſted with the public ſafety, to reſtore to them thoſe privileges and enjoyments, of which other conquerors would have had a pride in depriving them. In what manner he behaved to the Spartans, we have ſeen. And ſuch, Polybius informs us, was their veneration for him, though the captor of their virgin-city, that far from conſidering him as an enemy, by whom they had been humbled, they proclaimed him in the general aſſembly of Greece their *benefactor* and *preſerver* [38]. He reigned but ſixteen years, too ſhort a period for the happineſs of his kingdom and of mankind.

Character of this prince.

Antigonus certainly appears to have been one of the ableſt princes that ever ſat on the throne of Macedon; to him probably was owing that vigor, which the Macedonians, after all their loſſes, were enabled to exert in the ſucceeding reign; and, had his example been imitated by his ſucceſſors, it may fairly be conjectured, that the fate of Macedon, if not prevented, had been at leaſt not ſo rapid and humiliating. In his laſt hours he took care to confirm

He appoints Philip to ſucceed him.

[37] Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. It appears from Polybius, that in military reputation he was one of the firſt among the princes of his time.

[38] Ευεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα. — See Polyb. L. ix. c. 30.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

the appointment he had already made, of Philip, the ſon of Demetrius, to ſucceed him on the throne [19].

[19] Antigonus is known in hiſtory by the name of *Doſon*, *the promiſer*. He acquired this name, Plutarch tells us, from his facility in promiſing and his ſlowneſs in performing. But, if by this we are to underſtand, that he either was avaricious, or that he employed that low expedient, to which ſhallow politicians have often recourſe, of increaſing the number of their dependents by holding out alluring promiſes, which they never propoſe to fulfil, we ſhall conceive of him a very different character from what is aſcribed to him by Polybius, who lived near his time. Poſſibly, at his acceſſion, he had the importunities of ſelf-intereſted courtiers to contend with; and from his natural facility of temper, and the difficulty of his ſituation, he was often under a neceſſity to put off, in the gentleſt manner he could, expectations, which were not to be gratified but at the expenſe of the public weal. And thence, perhaps, was the name given to him by ſome of the witlings of the age; and, as the points of ſatire are more faithfully remembered than actions of well-earned praiſe, Antigonus retains to this day the name of *Doſon*.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM